13: Hogbin OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

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[For additional information on lineage, clan, and village role in a bridewealth transaction, see Category 583.]

IV

121 128 The ethnography is divided into three parts. In the first part, after providing a brief general sketch of Orokaiva culture, I shall examine the 'starting mechanisms' of Orokaiva exchange cycles, both in traditional institutions (Ch. III) and in institutions developed since the British-Australian conquest (Ch. IV). The second part of the study is concerned chiefly with objects of mediation: land, taro, pigs, minor foods and ornaments (Chs. V–IX). In the third part the focus shifts to the relations between exchange partners mediated by the prestations analysed in the preceding chapters.

121 614 Although my presentation of Orokaiva social structure in this part of the work is not intended to be controversial, the focus differs from that of earlier ethnographies and here and there earlier findings had to be questioned in the light of fresh evidence. Orokaiva society contains several types of groupings (clan, local clan group, lineage, plant emblem group) whose members, according to informants, are recruited exclusively on the basis of agnatic descent. Earlier investigators have emphasised these patrilineal characteristics by equating the lineage and clan emblem group, proclaiming them both to be segments of local clan groups, and by treating the local clan group as something like a segment of a clan. My own analysis, however, will be concerned more with clan fusions and fissions, with irregular recruitment within the plant emblem group, and with the lack of evidence for agnatic connection between lineages and local clan groups. My evidence shows that the non-agnates recruited into these putatively agnatic groupings are mostly uterine kin. But above all I shall try to establish that these departures from the supposed agnatic norms are not cases of irregularity or deviance, but an integral part of the Orokaiva kinship system. I shall suggest that normally clans are not intrinsically agnatic but rather that they arose out of alliances between smaller groups whose original link was affinal. The effect of this argument is to show the narrow limits of range and scope within which Orokaiva patrilineal corporations operate, and thus to emphasise the importance of the exchange system as a principle of social structure.

121 571 As soon as we extend kinship analysis beyond the conjugal family, we observe that mediation is carried on not only through non-social objects used as gifts or prestations, but also through social objects used as intermediaries. Thus, in the relation between sister's son and mother's brother there is an intermediary who is mother of one of the partners and sister of the other. Similarly, the relation between two brothers-in-law is mediated by a woman who is wife of one and sister of the other. Men also often act as mediators between exchange partners when these are not linked by kinship, or when the exchange partners are female.

The principles of exchange are the same whether the objects of meditation be social or non-social. In both cases there are two partners, *ego* and *alter*, who establish or maintain a social relationship. The object of mediation, whether social or non-social, is so chosen that both *ego* and *alter* are – or become – closely identified with it. If *ego* and *alter* are male non-agnatic kinsmen, the mediator must be a woman· if they are female non-agnatic kinsmen, the mediator must be a man. In either case, the concept of an object of mediation implies that at the beginning of the transaction *ego* had some exclusive claim

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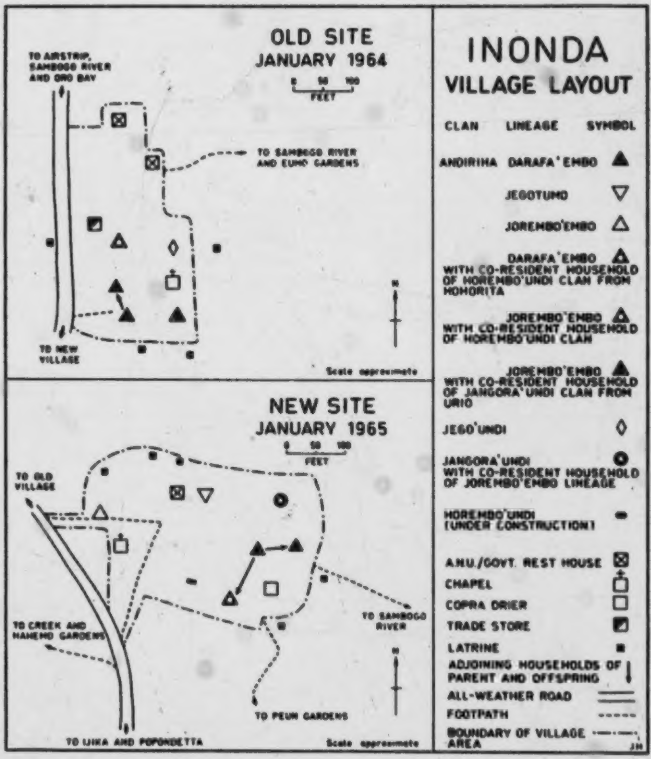
OLD SITE
JANUARY 1964
0 50 100
FEET
TO AIRSTRIP, SAMBOGO RIVER AND ORO BAY
TO SAMBOGO RIVER AND EUMO GARDENS
TO NEW VILLAGE
N
Scale approximate
NEW SITE
JANUARY 1965
0 50 100
FEET
TO OLD VILLAGE
TO CREEK AND HANEMO GARDENS
TO SAMBOGO RIVER
TO PEUM GARDENS
TO IJIKA AND POPONDETTA
N
Scale approximate
INONDA
VILLAGE LAYOUT
CLAN LINEAGE SYMBOL
ANDIRIHA DARAFA'EMBO ▲
JEGOTUMO ▽
JOREMBO'EMBO △
DARAFA'EMBO WITH CO-RESIDENT HOUSEHOLD OF HOREMBO'UNDI CLAN FROM HOHORITA
JOREMBO'EMBO WITH CO-RESIDENT HOUSEHOLD OF HOREMBO'UNDI CLAN
JOREMBO'EMBO WITH CO-RESIDENT HOUSEHOLD OF JANGORA'UNDI CLAN FROM URIO
JEGO'UNDI ◇
JANGORA'UNDI WITH CO-RESIDENT HOUSEHOLD OF JOREMBO'EMBO LINEAGE ⊙
HOREMBO'UNDI (UNDER CONSTRUCTION) ▬
A.N.U./GOVT. REST HOUSE ⊠
CHAPEL
COPRA DRIER □
TRADE STORE
LATRINE ■
ADJOINING HOUSEHOLDS OF PARENT AND OFFSPRING
ALL-WEATHER ROAD
FOOTPATH
BOUNDARY OF VILLAGE AREA
JH

Fig. 4. Inonda village layout.

The leader, a government driver, earned about 65 per cent of the total cash 105
income of the whole village, not only in wages but also through various 622
enterprises on the side. He was the lay preacher as well. The only limit to his 177
influence was the unwillingness of the pagan faction to become involved in
'modern' activities of which he was the champion.

Ecologically, Inonda is characteristic of the alluvial plains region to the east 133
of the mountain. It lies between 200 and 300 feet above sea level, and has a 132
comparatively low rain-fall and long dry periods. Its population density is low:
42 people on a village domain of 2850 acres (less than 10 per square mile). The 161
best Inonda land is 580 acres of coarse-textured recent riverine deposits, covered 162
with forest or regrowth and lying beside the Sambogo and Girua rivers.
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until June 1967. Previous intensive studies had been made there by Rimoldi and Waddell. Sivepe is twenty-four miles from Popondetta, but this distance represents a drive of two to four hours in a Landrover, according to the time of year. The village lies on a side road, serving a population of some 2,000 living in the valley of the Sasembata (or Hembe) and Sohu rivers, two tributaries of the Kumusi. This side road runs from the main road in a south-easterly direction as far as Kendata. The Sasembata-Sohu valley combines all the most favourable ecological conditions: heavy rainfall, deep volcanic loam, excellent drainage, easy contours. The first time I drove to Sivepe was during the dry season. Turning from the main road, I found myself on a slightly improved grass track, with villages built right across it, the sweet aroma of coffee trees (which, incidentally is strongly disliked by the Orokaiva) pervading the atmosphere, lush vegetation, and a life-style on which the Europeans had apparently made much less impact.

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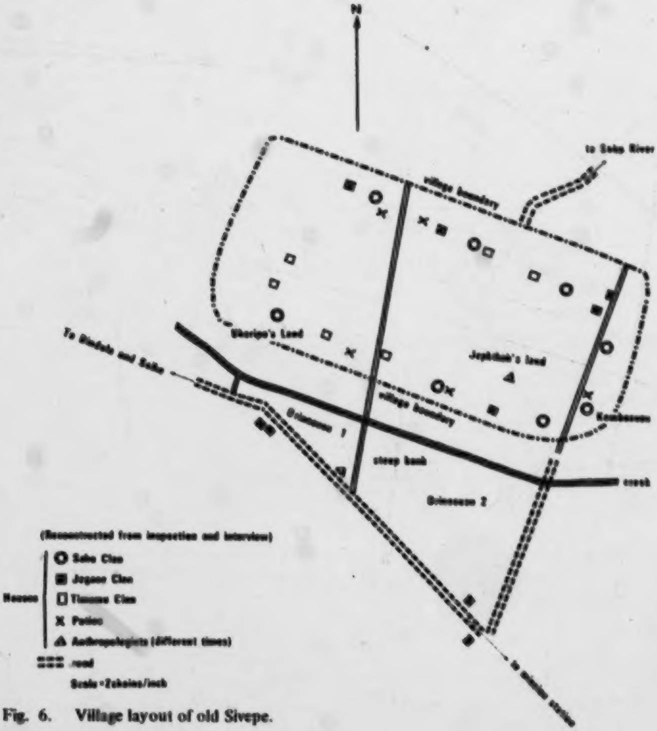
N
to Sohu River
village boundary
village boundary
Jephthah's land
steep bank
creek
To Kendata and Sohu
(Reconstructed from inspection and interview)
Houses
Sohu Clan
Anthropologists (different times)
road
Scale = 2chains/inch

Fig. 6. Village layout of old Sivepe.

Why does man have this duty? According to the data I have presented, the 769
duty arises out of a promise made at the time of birth. The land is identified 775
with the ancestor who gave the infant its body. The cultivator works not only to
'survive' but also to repay to that ancestor the debt he has incurred by being 774
given a body. 241

These beliefs are relevant not only to land as a mediating element between
living and dead, but also between man and man. The religious system is 423
unconcerned with the consanguineous relationship between the living servitor and the spirit of the dead. It is the service alone that counts, while the capacity to provide the service rests on no more than the authorised occupancy of land. The implication for land transactions between men is that such transactions can never be purely economic.

In the present instance Jarata's brother, in lending his plot to a classificatory brother-in-law, simultaneously passed over the duty to care for the spirit of his
dead brother, whose spirit resided on that plot. This is especially interesting as [614]●
that affine (and his son Jarata (2), if he had lived) belonged to a clan different from the spirit's. Thus, on a religious level, there is no recognition of a clan's 'right' to certain land, but only of a sequence of cumulative co-operative acts between man and spirit, such that each move by one party calls forth an appropriate move in response. We shall now turn to the social aspect of these transactions, i.e. the conditions upon which authorised occupancy is granted.

4. *Transfer of Useholds between Agnates*

In suggesting that land transfers should be studied as social rather than as 423
economic transactions, we may meet with the initial objection that land
transfers occur in response to economic needs and are adequately explained 425
without introducing social considerations. But among the Orokaiva, there are many land transfers for which an economic explanation would in practice be hard to find. Certainly there are cases where land is transferred to a household notably short of land, but I know of more cases where the purpose of transfer was to have the company of a good friend on a neighbouring plot and other cases where the only discernible purpose was to make a gift and strengthen a social bond. Crocombe and Rimoldi have recorded a large number of land transfers in Inonda and Sivepe, a large proportion of which were outside the extended family and even outside the lineage. By no means all of these were redistributions to help the deprived. Many were mainly for the sake of strengthening sociability. It is therefore reasonable to inquire into the significance of land in the mediation of social relationships.

We may, first of all, divide these transfers into two broad types: those 423
occurring within corporate groups, and those occurring outside them. In a strict 425
unilineal system, it would be possible to draw a land map showing areas owned
by a lineage, and if the system were segmentary, one might speak of a clan 611
domain, a tribal domain and so forth. Such boundaries would theoretically remain unchanged in perpetuity as each generation inherited holdings in the patriline or matriline. No New Guinea system of which we have a recent professional description approximates even remotely to such a model, at least in practice, as we find that many land holdings in so-called patrilineal groups pass into the hands of uterine kin and affines. Among the Orokaiva the departures

613 [428] Previous research such as that of Rimoldi (1966) has shown clearly enough that the Orokaiva patrilineage is not *in practice* an enduring corporate group. The model I am proposing here goes further: it states a rule according to which patrimonies are fragmented and the fragments constituted into new units. It follows from this rule that neither lineage membership nor the principle of patrifiliation (cf. Barnes 1962, 1967) suffices to account for the inheritance of landed estates.

596 428 The basic condition for inheritance is that there should be a continuing filial or quasi-filial relation, usually based on co-residence and filial services, thus inducing the *enda mama* to make an appropriate response and continue the protection of the real or fictive junior, as symbolised by the transfer of land, often in gradual steps during the *enda mama's* lifetime.

Having shown that patrifiliation is not a sufficient condition for land inheritance, we shall proceed in the next section to show that it is also not a necessary condition. This argument will be followed by an exposition of an alternative model based on the principle of exchange.

5. *Transfers of Land outside the Corporate Group*

423 425 [428] The land transfers so far discussed were conducted between agnates and largely prescribed by rules of inheritance. We have seen that there is some freedom of disposition, as the father is not obliged to transmit more than half of his land to his sons. His freedom is even greater if he has no resident sons or brothers. Even a man with many sons and brothers, and with only limited land holdings, is not prevented from making occasional land transfers, though these are more likely to be on only a temporary basis.

423 425 613 614 The extent of known transfers outside the rules of patrilineal succession has been recorded for the villages of Sivepe and Inonda. In Sivepe more than half of 104 parcels of land belonging to the Jegase clan have been so transferred (Rimoldi 1966:59) whereas only 15 out of 34 gardens investigated were planted by primary members of the right-holding lineage (*ibid.*: 70). In Inonda, the proportion was 20 out of 55 (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:34). Recipients were sometimes members of the same clan but of a different lineage: sometimes they were members of another clan. The whole of the land now occupied by the Andiriha clan of Inonda was donated by the Tandai'undi of Seva in 1915, when they were affines.

423 425 583 [593] [582] Most of these transfers were made to sisters and daughters of the *enda mama* and, by implication, to the men who had married these women. They were most commonly full sisters and full daughters, but there are many cases involving classificatory and adoptive relationships. The making of such gifts depends partly on inclination; a man who greatly dislikes his son-in-law will not settle land on him. If the daughter marries outside a radius of about three miles from the home village, she usually receives no land. Many women who marry in a neighbouring village receive land close to the boundary. The popular explanation of such gifts is the deep love between a man and his sister (or his daughter). There is, however, another consideration which may have encouraged these transfers: the Orokaiva practised preferential patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, so that a village which allowed a woman to cultivate land, while married in an

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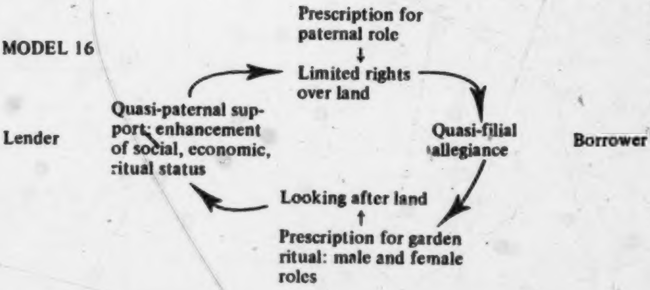
MODEL 16


Prescription for paternal role
Limited rights over land
Quasi-filial allegiance
Looking after land
Prescription for garden ritual: male and female roles
Quasi-paternal support: enhancement of social, economic, ritual status
Lender
Borrower

6. *Case Study of Uterine Land Inheritance*

If a person resides at too great a distance to make gardens on his land, he commonly passes it on to a suitable kinsman to be 'looked after', which means the establishment of gardens on it at regular intervals and the performance of religious rites. After a decent interval (perhaps twenty years), the caretakers will begin to press for a permanent arrangement: does the owner intend to return or will he pass over his land permanently to a resident? It is possible to stall on such a decision for a long time, but even if the owner's rights have the strongest basis, viz. patrilineal inheritance, they gradually become more tenuous and the man who looks after the land increasingly becomes the real master. Theoretically, [428] however, the right to patrimony land is never extinguished. At the same time, a land [431] gift to a sister or daughter is often made on the basis that when the land passes to her male heir he will be able to keep it permanently for his descendants. The formal rules on this point are flagrantly contradictory. If we wish to understand the principles behind uterine land inheritance, our most useful course will be to consider how the system operates in a concrete case.

The data I shall discuss here were reported in Crocombe's and Hogbin's study 614 ● of Inonda (1963) and supplemented in a brief study by myself. A leading man 423 from Tandai'undi clan (Seva village) gave most of the present Inonda domain to a leading man of Andiriha clan. The Andiriha made various gifts at that time 425 (1915) and also gave Tandai'undi two women in marriage. In the following [583] generation Tandai'undi, according to the custom (of patrilateral cross-cousin [582] marriage), gave two women in exchange to Andiriha, or to be precise, to the son of the donor of the original two women. It was then promised that the son of the elder of these two women would assume control and be permitted to pass on this land to his heirs.

In the 1950s several incidents occurred which emphasised the limitations of the rights of Andiriha. When some Tandai'undi were dismissed from a construction job (by a European overseer), they went to Inonda village where the foreman, an Andiriha, lived. They reminded the foreman that Inonda was 'their' land and that if he wanted to remain on it he had better get them their jobs back (Crocombe and Hogbin (1963: 72). As I have pointed out, a land borrower always has a duty to protect the interests of the lender and this

614 protection was now demanded on pain of eviction. Around the same time, coffee 423 was being introduced in Inonda as a cash crop, but none of this was planted on Tandai'undi land. Three men who had land derived from a different source 425 planted coffee there in 1955 but the other families who had only Tandai'undi [422] land had planted none as late as 1967. They feared that if they did, there would [245] be trouble with the Tandai'undi.

There are many examples in other parts of Orokaiva territory to show that these fears were fully justified. To confine myself to Sivepe, where my data are most detailed, I found that although more than half the land was occupied by 423 rights other than patrimony only two out of fourteen coffee gardens were 422 established on such land. When I inquired into these two cases one grower 425 explained to me in careful detail that he had nothing to fear because the mother's brother who gave him the land to 'look after' had absolutely no descendants, neither male nor female, nor any brothers and sisters. The other grower, who was occupying his wife's land, was in trouble already. His solution had been to plant a second coffee garden and to promise he would relinquish the first when the second began to bear. The other twelve growers all held the view that it is better to grow coffee on patrimony land.

I know of only one case where the coffee-growing occupiers ignored the views of the holders of patrimony rights. This was in Mumuni where after some years of fruitless disputes the holders of the patrimony began to raid the coffee gardens. When the victims of these thefts asked my advice, I had to tell them that a Government Court could probably do nothing for them as I knew they had no legal title to the land.[3]

Under traditional Orokaiva law, the holders of the patrimony probably have a valid claim to cash crops. These crops may be viewed as an unforseeable increment in the value of the land transferred, an extraordinary stroke of luck. In Orokaiva religious thought, there can be only one explanation for such a stroke of luck, namely that it was given by the spirits dwelling on the land. As far as the Tandai'undi were concerned, their link with the spiritual essence of the land was still unbroken. The Andiriha were only caretakers. A perpetual gift of the land to the Andiriha does not mean to the Tandai'undi what it would mean to Europeans. Rather than a gift that is made once for all, it is a gift that is continuing to be made in perpetuity. As the function of this gift is to mediate a social transaction, it presupposes that the social transaction continues in perpetuity. If the value of the gift increases dramatically through unforeseen causes, the donors may no longer consider it appropriate for mediating this relationship, unless the rewards from the relationship also increase.

We may express this notion in the following diagram which is a modification of model 16:

602 One might well regard such immoderate claims as the response to a
423 breakdown in the social exchange relationship. According to model 17, increased
rights over land should mediate an *increased* quasi-filial allegiance, implying an
425 increased willingness to aid and share with maternal relatives. Such, however,
[245] was rarely in evidence. On the contrary, most coffee-growers, engrossed in the
new task of growing coffee, tended to ease up on their family obligations, gave
[797] fewer feasts and were apt to neglect their maternal relatives. This was especially
so because Church influence reduced the scope of initiation ceremonial which is
[881] one of the traditional key functions of the maternal family. Certainly the
maternal family hardly shares at all, under normal circumstances, in the
increased wealth generated by coffee-growing. Thus the uterine landowner feels
relatively alienated from his affluent nephew.

614 In order to demonstrate the importance of quasi-filial allegiance as a factor in
423 land transactions, I shall cite one case, again from Inonda, where coffee gardens
are being run profitably on land over which the grower holds only 'permissive'
425 rights. The three coffee gardens established in 1955, and still harvested in 1967,
are on land owned by the Endehi'undi clan but relinquished after a defeat in
[435] war. It has been used by Andiriha of Inonda since 1915. When Inonda people
started to grow coffee, Endehi'undi reclaimed this land. Inonda paid $32 in cash,
as well as pigs, traditional valuables and taro, in other words, a very substantial
consideration (Crocombe and Hogbin *ibid.*: 73) After a few years, as Andiriha
continued to benefit from the coffee, it became obvious that Endehi'undi did not
regard this consideration as a *sale* price as Andiriha hoped they would do. They
saw it as no more than a proper display of quasi-filial allegiance, and expected
this sort of gesture to be repeated, or to recover the land.

[736] The Andiriha leader now invited a widower belonging to the Endehi'undi group to move into his household. The invitation was accepted and in 1967 the old man was still there. There was no further trouble over the coffee although Andiriha did not tempt fate by making further plantings. By Orokaiva legal concepts, the balance was restored. By a shrewd manoeuvre, the Andiriha leader had found a way to offer increased quasi-filial allegiance in such a way that the profit from the coffee gardens was not reduced too much.

423 Instances of this kind help us to understand what was involved in the
425 Orokaiva system of residual or dual rights over land and dual allegiance owed by
individuals to different families from which land useholds are derived. We have
571 long tended to believe that the basic co-operating groups in primitive societies
are *corporate* groups. The Orokaiva data presented here show a second
possibility: namely a system by which individuals derive their land, and therefore
their sustenance, from a cluster of corporate groups in only one of which they
are a corporate member, although they maintain permanent exchange relationships with the others. These other corporations do not make them permanent
gifts but leave them conditional upon the successful continuation of the
relationship. The fact that a man holds land on such terms *forces* him to
continue the relationship.

It is impossible, therefore, to say just what constitute 'residual' rights in land. In the example I analysed, it appears that a group's rights include rights to coffee when it lives in another village, but not when a member of that group stays in the house of one of the growers and is fed by that grower's wife. Perhaps the

824 'closest mutual relationship' with H1 and H3; H3 with H2 and H4 and so on.
431 Closure of the circuit is achieved if Hn has a 'closest mutual relationship' with
H(n – 1) and H1. The largest such circuit, or near-circuit, connects the great
571 majority of households of all clans and may thus be considered a unifying
621 principle for the village as a whole. The second, much more strongly
128 constructed, links eleven households of the Jegase-Sorovi clans, but includes not a single Seho household. Even though this circuit of ten households contains two flaws (wavy instead of hard lines), it is most improbable that it would turn up by chance.

How circuits are generated in time becomes clear from a study of the recent immigrants from Garombi. Householder 17, before leaving Garombi, had no particularly close links in Sivepe; yet our survey shows him as having two preferential partnerships with old-time Sivepe residents, one Jegase and one Seho (H18 and H16 respectively).

A curious feature is the almost uniform practice of choosing immediate neighbours as preferential partners. It would be too simple, however, to suppose that there is a rule whereby one must have these specially frequent exchanges
[361] with one's neighbours. Certainly I never found a trace of such a rule. On the
[209] other hand there are quite complex considerations in the choice of house sites,
such that there is the maximum correspondence between physical and social distance from others in the village. When social relations between neighbours become bad, one of them is liable to shift his house elsewhere, so he can be close to an intimate.

824 The circuit corresponds remarkably well to the Orokaiva system of clan
formation. Thus the Jegase 'clan' in Sivepe is actually constituted by four totally
431 unrelated groups, three of which migrated to Sivepe since the beginning of the
571 century and which gradually grew into a single clan by a process of fusion (See
621 Chapter X). They now occupy six houses and ancillary buildings on the
128 Jegase-Sorovi circuit, and three houses which form a chain attached to that
circuit, i.e. a total of nine houses. Each 'lineage' forms a short chain of its own,
614 and the chains are mostly linked together by uterine bonds. Now it is precisely these uterine bonds which brought about the fusion of the groups of migrants into a single clan. Yet this clan was still far more fragmented than Seho. Therefore, there was not much incentive to clustering, which requires far greater intimacy than existed among the Jegase.

824 It is precisely the lack of intimacy between small social chains that produced
431 the Sivepe circuits. As we have seen, these circuits are mathematical models built
after the reality of residence and taro exchange patterns. It is characteristic of a
571 circuit that no two households share the same 'closest mutual relationships'.
621 Thus H2 and H3 have a 'closest mutual relationship' but H3 does not share the
128 'closest mutual relationship' between H2 and H1. It is in this respect that a chain is quite unlike a 'minimal cluster'. The chain arrangement has two practical consequences: if H1 falls out with H3, H2 will mediate; and if H1 and H3 wish to co-operate, H2 will normally be a party to the arrangements as these tend to be made in front of his house, in his hearing and probably in his presence. The structure provides for the possibility that H3 may draw in H4, H4 may draw in H5 and so forth. Actual cases of such political action will obviously tend to be

less tidy but lateral communication by means of intermediaries was a pattern to 824
be frequently observed.

The topographical position of a house was therefore at the same time a fixed 431
position in the taro exchange network and in the network of alliances. One 621
could almost tell from where a person lived what that person would do. When 571
fierce arguments and hot abuse rang through the night as two households held a 128
cutting dispute with each other, those households were likely to live at opposite
ends of the village, either at far ends of the chain or at opposite ends of a wider [209]
and looser chain of associations which comprised the village as a whole.

The Seho clusters and the Jegase–Sorovi chain were at opposite sides of the
village, but were linked to each other by two connecting chains, consisting 824
largely of people who lived at the outer ends of the elongated village rectangle. 431
One of these connecting chains was formed by men who came from Soroputa 621
and who married wives from the Seho clan. (H5, H20-H21, H11, H12.) The 614
other connecting chain consisted of Seho and Sorovi householders whose
distinguishing feature was that they maintained rather wide taro exchange 361
networks, had peaceful natures and tried to keep on friendly terms with almost 129
everyone. (H14, H15, H16, H17). The links shown on the sociogram between
the Jegase-Sorovi chain and the Seho people are of great interest as they show
the degree of closeness between the two main clan formations (Jegase and Seho).
Judging from the taro exchange network, these relations are not critically
remote but on the other hand not so close that the two sides are in any danger
of losing their separate identity.

Leadership in the two clans differed in a manner that is clearly recognisable on 614
the graph. Seho had an aristocratic type of New Guinean 'big man' leadership, the 571
leader (H12) having hardly any real intimates except primary kin who were 554
rather numerous. These primary kin, however, between them, had intimate links 129
with nearly everybody in the village. The leader had preferential partnerships
and close connections with a few but not all the Garombi immigrants, using his
close contacts as middlemen. The Jegase sociometric star (H5) had a far wider
exchange network, including all the Garombi families, and almost nightly there
were large gatherings in his *arara*. On the other hand, his primary kin links were
far fewer; he depended on the systematic fostering of new associations for his
challenge to the Seho leadership. Thus cluster and circuit, the two types of
association found in Sivepe, each had its own characteristic form of leadership.

6. *Structural Implications*

We have found that gifts of cooked taro are essentially a woman's gift, and that 824
these gifts, if made continuously at short intervals, are a ritual statement of the 431
maintenance of intimacy between pairs of households. The exchange may be
stated formally in the following diagram: 621

pig-lending becomes a simulation, on a minor scale, of the customs of marriage 437
exchange, where a reciprocating pair of groups send back and forth a female 231
marriage partner at intervals of one generation.

This assimilation of domesticated pigs to human members of exchanging 231
social groups is emphasised by much customary behaviour towards these pigs.
This behaviour goes beyond co-residence in the same house and the use of 825
kinship terms of reference, but extends to strict taboos of wide range prohibiting 602
the eating of domestic pigs by their rearers. 262

4. *Wild Pigs as Victims*

Williams (1930) describes in detail the techniques that are, or were, used for the 224
hunting of pigs: the use of spears, pig-traps, and the collective burning of *kunai* 825
grass to drive pigs towards their pursuers. I myself witnessed such a burn, in
which three villages participated as owners of the burnt-over land (Inonda, Urio, [411]
Musou) as well as some hunters from Ajoro. The myths explaining the origin of [773]
the various techniques of hunting and of cooking the meat do not enlighten us
greatly in the study of exchange, except to confirm a point already made in a
previous chapter: the *dema* figure who is remembered as having 'given' a certain
technique to mankind, is invariably described in the myth as the first *victim* of
that technique. The ritual of killing is a very simple one: it consists in calling out [614]
one's clan name before striking the fatal blow. This is supposed to give the
hunter the strength (*ivo*) he needs in order to kill. Both killer and victim are thus
symbolically identified with a primal ancestor.

The killer of a wild pig is not bound by the same ritual restrictions as the [262]
killer of either a man or a domestic pig. Williams states that he found no rule
prohibiting a man from eating his personal quarry. Nonetheless, I found that in
practice the meat of the wild pig virtually always serves some purpose of
exchange-sale, barter or the mediating of social relations. The two wild pigs
killed by Inonda men during the hunt to which I have already referred will serve
as an example.

Killer A presented his pig to his mother's brother who lives in Ajoro. Killer B 224
presented his quarry to killer A, who is B's brother's wife's brother. A 825
distributed most of the joints to men and women from Inonda (including B),
and to two Ajoro men who had returned from the hunt empty-handed, but kept 571
one joint. A's mother's brother kept part of the animal he had been given but
distributed the rest of it to his Inonda relatives, including A., as well as several
affines. In the end everyone in Inonda had received some meat, but sometimes
this meat had gone through several hands. For instance, A's sister did not receive
meat from the animal her brother had killed, but from the animal her brother
received as a present. Her brother gave several joints to B and it was from one of
these joints A's sister was able to eat, because B gave it to his own brother who
was A's sister's husband.

After this set of circuitous transactions the fires were lit. I noticed that only [252]
some of the meat was boiled but that most of it was smoked for later use, In fact
only a fraction of the two slaughtered pigs was eaten that night. The smoked [251]
meat was kept for a variety of transactions. In line with the modern trend, these [431]
included sale at the market, but there were also traditional prestations, e.g. a gift
[437]

574 796 763 628 It is emphasised even more strongly by the curious symbolism of the ritual death of the feast-giver. Once the food is collected and heaped up on a platform in the village, a message is sent to the guests. This message takes the form (in Hohorita) of a report that X (the giver of the feast) has a big sickness, and that 'he died last night' or that he 'will die today' or 'will die tomorrow'. The message is made to sound realistic: 'a tree was cut and hit him on the head; he is nearly dead.' One informant told me that he was at first actually deceived by it.

The effect of the message is to oblige the guests to interrupt whatever they are doing and come at once, as they would in the case of a death. But it also has a clear symbolic significance in that it equates the feast-giver with the victims to be immolated at the feast. This notion is found in other Papuan cultures, e.g. the Kiwai, who told Landtman that men actually die shortly after they have given a feast (1927: Ch. XXIV). A feast, in any event, signifies the entrance to the world of death and the ancestors.

574 796 628 At a feast two totally different types of food distribution take place. Cooked vegetables and meat are handed to the guests by the women of the host group in front of their private houses, and raw vegetables and meat are hurled at the guests by the men standing on platforms in the public area of the village. The women serving the meal behave with the ordinary propriety of Papuan hostesses, whereas the men, though actually rather careful in apportioning the tied heaps of taro and the joints of pig meat in accordance with the prominence of each group and group leader, put on prankish, irresponsible, abandoned, even insulting acts, and start meat fights at which the blood runs over the bodies of the recipients.

[231] The pigs used to be slaughtered ceremonially, 'a number of pigs being set in a row and struck simultaneously' with a spear (Williams 1930:61). They are butchered on a platform, the joints being invariably the same as those into which the body of Totoima was cut up. The giver of the feast enacts a ritual for the first-born sons of each family, passing them under his legs and then allowing them to eat of the heart and innards of at least one pig which are placed, still dripping with blood, inside the feast house. It is stipulated that the pig from which these parts are taken has to be killed by a 'father or brother' of the first-born and that the organs have to be extracted by the killer. This ritual, performed in Hohorita in 1966, is a fairly precise re-enactment of Totoima's murder of his son. It emphasises the identification of the feast-givers with Totoima. Although this ritual does not directly involve the guests, it can be performed only in the presence of guests, a curious fact that is adequately explained by the theoretical argument I presented above (Section 5).

796 574 782 [769] [614] The evidence given in the last few pages indicates that Orokaiva pig sacrifice is a form of communion with primeval beings. Certainly the men, after a ceremonial preparation of several months, have reached a psychological state of identification with the ancestors at the moment of sacrifice. There are no professional sacrificers among the Orokaiva, but all the men involved in the feast have, by the ritual exercises preceding the feast, developed *rapport* with the sacred world. Prior to sacrifice, the pigs are offered up to the clan ancestor by the calling out of the clan name. The fact that they are killed (or sacrificed) at all distinguishes the feast from an ordinary economic transaction, where the pig would serve as 'payment' for some gift previously received or a service rendered.

The sacrifice undoubtedly transforms the nature of the victim, as the meat, after 796
the analogy of the body of Totoima, is divided among all the guests, who will 574
'greatly multiply' by the *ivo* the meat confers after this simple sacrament.

After the sacrifice the group who offered it becomes irrevocably separated 782
from the victim. The composition of the group to whom consumption of the [825]
sacrificed pig is forbidden is as follows: the pig's 'mother' and 'father', their [784]
siblings, their parents, their parents' siblings, and their children. Infringement of [842]
the taboo is said to lead to the death of one of the sons of the pig's 'mother'. I was told that the taboo lapses once a woman's daughters have themselves given birth to children. We may safely deduce from this last limitation of the range of the taboo that it serves to protect the woman's power of child-bearing. The taboo does not reach to the third generation: it does not include the grandparents of the pig-rearers. Nor does it include parallel or cross-cousins. These rules emphasise the position of the pig as a member of the family group. [602]
The sacrificer of a pig is identified with Totoima precisely in that both killed their own children.

The membership of host and guest groups is defined mainly by residence: one 574.
village invites another. It also occurs, in multi-clan villages, that the two groups 614.
comprise only some of the local clan groups of the host and guest village. I did 621
not note cases of two-clan villages where this happened, but it does occur in [628]
four-clan villages such as Hohorita and Sasembata. Some close relatives of the hosts, though not resident in the host village, may decide to attend and may make a food contribution. The guest group that is invited usually matches the host group approximately in strength. If there is a wide disprepancy in numbers there is a tendency for several closely-linked villages to join together as hosts or to be invited together as guests.

Relationships between hosts and guests are cultivated on both the collective 574
and the family level. The Orokaiva have no large houses for guests, so that each 628
family of guests is accommodated with a family of hosts. If two villages have 437
never feasted together partnerships are arranged at a preliminary meeting, always making allowance for previously existing relationships. Once partnerships are established they become a standing reciprocal arrangement, inherited by the children of the original partners. A good part of the planning of a feast consists of amassing suitable gifts to be made to one's visiting partner. It is he who must, above all, be impressed by his host and overwhelmed with generosity. On the [789]
collective level, guests are expected to dance for their hosts and to carry out rain-making and crop-promoting rituals.

When I asked why the help of guest sorcerers was necessary to ensure increase [789]
of the food supply, I was told that if taro grows poorly in a garden it is assumed [244]
that an enemy is using *puripuri* (a form of magic) against this garden, thus stopping the taro from flourishing. When a whole village has poor results, it is believed that someone has used medicine against *all* the gardens. According to his reasoning, the task of the friendly magicians at a feast is to remove their own previous black magic from the gardens. As shown in previous chapters, the assumption is always that parties meeting at a feast have been living in something ike imperfect harmony. This implies that there may have been sorcery.

The harvest feast is, therefore, an occasion when the community acts as a 574
orporate group to meet a magical danger which transcends the individual. A 621
[789]

881 The mother and mother's brother, being the most harmonious, gentle and
533 affectionate male/female couple known to the Orokaiva, are the most suited for
534 the task of mediating between the fearsome spirit world and the human being.
The two initiatory flutes are therefore identifed with them.

577 How are the *otohu* ornaments connected with (*a*) the moral qualities and (*b*)
604 the flute of the same name? The first part of this question was answered
562 convincingly by Williams, as we have seen. But how are *otohu* ornaments
symbolically equivalent to flutes? It is relevant to recall the difference between
[301] the two identity symbols *otohu* and *hae*. Ideally, the latter is transmitted in the
patriline, the former in the matriline. All other differences (e.g. that the *hae* is attached to the corporate group and the *otohu* to the exchange system) follow from the mode of transmission.

881 The common characteristic of initiation ceremony, sacred flutes and *otohu*
ornaments is that they all ideally derive from uterine kin or, in any case, that
301 they have no necessary connection with the clan. Initiation pries the novice
534 loose from early over-attachment to the clan and confronts him with the more
adventurous, less secure world of the exchange system (*mine*). This applies
602 equally to girls and boys. The rigours of this new arena are very effectively
614 dramatised by the *aguma* whose recital emphasises that it is meritorious for the
otohu embo to kill enemies. The same message is conveyed in a different way by the mother's brother whose role includes the gift of black magic (*saruka*) to his nephew. The ornament, *saruka* and other presentations come to the nephew not of right, but in the form of *mine*, in exchange for help and obedience offered to the mother's brother and gifts made by the novice's family.

The existence of two identity symbols, *hae* and *otohu*, side by side, indicates the strong emphasis placed by Orokaiva culture upon social relationships outside the corporate group. Among the neighbouring Baruga, whose culture closely resembles the Orokaiva, but who are more strongly patrilineal, we find only one identity symbol, the *kotopo*, which serves both as *hae* (lineage emblem) and as *otohu* (honorific ornament). Initiation is here carried out by the clan, introduces the novice to full clan membership, but carries no implications for participation in a wider network.

The *otohu* flute is a voice from the spirit world, mediated through the mother's brother. This voice communicates a certain moral order. The initiand hears the flutes but at that time makes no response. If he is later presented with an *otohu* ornament, he must make pledges. The ornament, as it is thrown back and forth over his head, communicates the same message as the flute but this time the novice responds to the voice. It is thus that he makes the ornament into a symbol of his identity.

6. Otohu *and* Hambo *Compared*

301 There are many resemblances between *otohu* and other *hambo*. They are made
from largely the same materials. They are all, together with *di* (feathers) made accessible to men and women at the time of initiation, as soon as they have seen the *embahi*. Yet there are also many differences both in significance and in
[554] transactional custom. First of all, *otohu* may be worn on any important
occasion, but *hambo* only during a dance or in other ceremonial contexts.

plexes" (1967: 123). In particular, he stated the opinion that many Melanesian 583
structures *'ne relèvent pas des structures élémentaires' (ibid.*: 122). We learn the 121
precise meaning of this statement in another essay, *The Future of Kinship Studies*, published in the English language in 1966. Whereas elementary structures operate ideally within a fixed number of marriage classes, the rules of complex structures are so framed that the system requires a perpetual supply of new affinal groups for its continued operation. They produce a probabilistic alliance network. Rules of this kind are found in the Crow and Omaha systems, but also in many other culture areas, including Melanesia (1966: 21).

Since these hypotheses were published, a number of anthropologists have begun to test them empirically. To mention only two examples, Guiart (1968) has shown the presence of restricted exchange rules in New Caledonia and Kelly (1968) has shown the presence of generalised exchange on Dobu. It seems, however, that a crucial implication of the Lévi-Straussian hypotheses remains to be explored. It is suggested that restricted and generalised exchange (or perhaps restricted and complex exchange) *encounter* one another in the Melanesian culture area. This would imply the possibility of the simultaneous existence in the same society of both forms and some interaction between the two. If such a society could be found, the hypothesis implies that generalised exchange attempts to establish itself there, but *fails* to find a firm foothold, while features of restricted exchange tend to reassert themselves constantly as a result of this *failure*.

The interest of the Orokaiva case lies in the coexistence of the two systems, on the level both of norms and facts. In Orokaiva social structure we may see the two systems in interaction and discover by which factors each of the systems is maintained in opposition to the other. We thus arrive at a model on a higher level of abstraction than those of Guiart and Kelly, but comprising them both. In this model moiety systems are perpetually broken up by forces built into the structure itself: yet the model also predicts their perpetual reinstatement. The model consists, in fact, of a cyclical movement between the two patterns. The reality of Melanesian structure is not exhausted by either of the two patterns taken in isolation, but includes their necessary alternation over time and in space. The dynamic whereby this alternation is produced is the main subject of this chapter.

2. *Patrilineal Groups*

The Orokaiva are patrilocal and have dispersed patriclans. They make many 614
statements which demonstrate their patrilineal ideology: agnates are expected to 611
support each other in war and all other vicissitudes of life, irrespective of their [591]
place of residence. The basic inheritance rule is patrilineal. Clans and clan [428]
segments have distinctive emblems which are passed on in the patriline and identified with a common agnatic ancestor. One may even hear claims that the dispersed clan is an exogamous unit. All analytically-minded investigators, however, have been aware that this agnatic ideology covered up a very different reality. Williams remarked: 'The Orokaiva organisation very nearly approaches a bilateral system, though in theory it is patrilineal' (1925: 407). Williams was especially struck by the 'laxity' of the marriage regulations and by cases where

611 men showed loyalty to their affines rather than their clansmen. He also noted a
614 widespread tendency for individuals to identify with the maternal rather than the
paternal clan. Evidence on land tenure, presented by Crocombe, Hogbin and
[428] Rimboldi, provides an impressive list of exceptions to the supposed rule of
patrilineal inheritance and points, in addition, to the feebleness of links between
the local groups making up a dispersed clan.

At the time of Williams' study, most Orokaiva villages were composed of a
614 single clan and comprised little more than six households. The Australian
621 authorities used a good deal of pressure to make the Orokaiva consolidate their
361 hamlets into larger villages which could be more easily patrolled, but by 1951
Belshaw reported that most Orokaiva still lived in hamlets. In 1966 I found a
177 good number of one-clan villages, with populations of around fifty, but the
majority of the people were concentrated in larger settlements in which at least
two local clan groups were residing together.

The local clan group was traditionally the smallest viable military unit, whose duty it was to defend the hamlet territory against outsiders. It had its own military leader, feasting leader, technical and magical experts. In the modern multi-clan village, the corporate scope of the local clan group has declined, as its functions have been taken over by the village. Village feasts, village boundaries, village leadership tend to take the place of the earlier local clan group institutions. Due to these changes, the unity of the local clan group has become more difficult to establish and maintain.

614 Crocombe, Hogbin and Rimoldi have provided full data showing that local
clan groups are often divided into a number of exclusive segments they call
613 'lineages', which are characterised by putative common patrilineal descent from
an ancestor who could often not be named. It is certainly true that we find
important units intermediate between the extended family and the local clan
group. First, it is possible to list four names of such major units within the
Jegase local clan group and the same number within Seho. But the term 'lineage'
might be deceptive unless we define it more closely.

614 If we look at the clan segments in Sivepe (it will soon be clear why I prefer
not to call them 'lineages'), their real distinctive feature is that they either came
613 to Sivepe as migrants from the same village or as members of the same clan.
166 There is no evidence whatever that, in their village of origin, they would
necessarily have been regarded as close kin. Their feeling of being closely related
arose only subsequent to migration. The study of Orokaiva migrant groups, even
comprising just a few families, easily reveals that they tend to consist of one core
family to which others will rally, not because they are related by kinship but
because they want to leave, are good friends of the migrating family and, most
probably, have some kin or friendship links in the village where the group
intends to settle. It is only after arrival there that they may, for ideological and
political reasons, create the fiction of being close patrikin. A number of such
groups fuse with earlier arrivals into larger units bearing a clan name adopted by
all. Hence, for most purposes these smaller units are best described as 'clan
segments', though it may be useful to refer to them as lineages when discussing
informants' statements concerning the patrilineal ideology by which such
groupings are held together.

TABLE X/1

VILLAGE POPULATIONS AND CLAN ORGANISATION

Number of villages investigated: 15

621
614
361

Name	*Population*				
(*a*) *One-Clan Villages:*					
Ajoro	50	Tandai'undi			
Inonda	42	Andiriha			
Irihambo	30	Oripa			
Sombou	70	Pangaripa			
Kakita	24	Hatopa			
(*b*) *Two-Clan Villages:*					
Binduta	100	Jegase	Usohu		
Garombi	132	Sorovi	Betu		
Hamburata	91	Ehirari	Ohuru		
Kongohambo	96	Pugege	Ameti		
Sivepe	137	Jegase	Seho		
Torogota	65	Jeipa	Jaumbi		
(*c*) *Four-Clan Villages*		ve/ih	ih/av	av/so	so/ve[1]
Hohorita	348	Oripa	Besupa	Sehopa	Horeppa
Sasembata	162	Garoha	Pekuma	Ato	Takone[2]
Soroputa	200	Seraopa	Jaja	Java	Timumu
(*d*) *Multi-Clan Villages*					
Kiorota	429			12 clans[3]	

Notes

[1] ve/ih etc. are made up of abridgements of the Orokaiva terms *veari, ihane, avunu, sose*. for which see Chapter X, 5.

[2] No marriages between Seraopa and Jaja are permissible today, but both clans marry preferentially into the Hamburata clans. [582]

[3] This village was settled in 1958 by refugees from the Moun[illegible]mington eruption who previously occupied a number of smaller villages, [illegible]rding to the following pattern: [166]

Homumuta	1 Haripa	2 Penonupa	
Isivita	3 Jegase	4 Berekipa	
Bosisepa	3 Jegase	4 Berekipa	11 Seraopa
Tambore	5 Oetopa	6 Ahungata	
Taremuturu	5 Oetopa	7 Pusaripa	
Pinda	8 Isivupa	9 Juvaripa	
Kandata	10 Jepuripa		
?	12 Omborapa		

614 Similarly, the fact that these groupings together call themselves a clan (*javo wahai*) does not imply the actual existence of agnatic connection. The term means 'one name', and that is all they share, except for uterine links which buttress the social relations between them. The clan name is important as a symbol of political identification. The close bonds between the clan segments are evident in residence patterns, in daily intercourse and mutual assistance in practical matters, though not in ritual or other formal organisation.

614 824 The second principle of grouping is the plant emblem (*hae*), already recognised by Williams (1925, 1930) as important in the Orokaiva social system. Williams describes it as 'a distinctive emblem or associate' of a clan, though he recognised it could belong merely to a segment of a clan. Most of them are vegetable species, though almost any natural or cultural object may be designated as *hae*. Williams lists three main uses: as an identity token (to mark a visit by the owner), as a mark of individual abstinence (a self-inflicted taboo, usually shown to indicate a grievance) and as a village taboo post (prohibiting [773] access). The *hae* is regarded as an ancestor, which does not signify, as Williams carefully pointed out, that men believe themselves to be physically descendants [553] of plants, but that the ancestor was a man bearing the name of that plant. Clan and personal names are commonly plant names and often the *hae* of a clan and its name are identical. On the question whether the *hae* is a totem, he remarked that, whatever we call it, 'it will be obvious that it is very much like one.' He noted some forms of religious respect toward *hae*, notably eating and naming taboos.

614 824 To this information we may add that in our experience the term *hae* is frequently used to describe a social group made up of persons sharing a *hae*, and that the group to which it is applied is not the clan (*javo wahai*) but a smaller formation often about the same size as a 'clan segment' or 'lineage'. As such, they are probably the basic larger unit of Orokaiva social structure.

Every individual respects a number of paternal and a number of maternal *hae*. Theoretically, a person passes on his father's but not his mother's *hae* to the next generation so that the *hae* would form an agnatic group. Most individuals have about five *hae* in regular use. I recorded forty-two *hae* names in a population of 135.

There would normally be one *hae* common to a *javo wahai*. Less wide-ranging [582] and more distinctive *hae* would often be of more social importance. Those who were related to the same distinctive *hae* would co-operate in marriage and [611] mortuary payments and maintain a strict exogamy rule. Though they claimed their group to be composed wholly of agnates and children of agnates, there were in fact several cases of uterine transmission for more than one generation, especially where marriages were uxorilocal. Some *hae* became unusually popular, like *topu*, a tree name which became a *hae* after a Sivepe woman died by falling off a *topu* tree. She was given the necronym Topugoru, after which all her lineal descendants adopted *topu* as a *hae*, In other instances again, persons sharing the same *hae* were quite plainly unrelated in a physical sense. In fact the membership of none of the eleven most numerous plant emblem groups was drawn from a single clan segment or even a single local clan group.

It follows that the social group called *hae* never has a membership identical with that of a lineage, if we use that term in the sense of Crocombe, Hogbin or

Rimoldi. I witnessed marriage and mortuary payments where an entire *hae* 614
(including non-consanguines) were present, but where clansmen of different *hae* 824
had no business to be present.

Orokaiva genealogies hardly ever extended further than two generations beyond the oldest living member of a family. Thus, I was able to draw up a sizeable list of people who lived in Sivepe and other villages around 1915, but could get no genealogical information showing how these people were related to one another. However, informants were able to tell me the *hae* of these ancestors, and these *hae* proved to be the only evidence for statements that A and B 'must have been closely related' or 'cannot have been closely related'. In contrast to the clan and clan segment (which I shall later show to be military and political units – whole or fragmentary), the plant emblem group alone has the nature of a true kinship group. Therefore we should not be surprised that the *hae* occurs prominently in the Orokaiva marriage rules with regard to incest and exogamy.

3. *Williams' Theory of Orokaiva Marriage*

Being a most careful ethnographer, Williams frankly admitted he was unable to 582
understand the Orokaiva rules of exogamy. He quotes three conflicting sets of
rules, given to him by informants, and was unable to discern any clear system.
According to some informants the clan was the exogamous group. According to
others, marriage within the clan was sometimes permissible, but marriage was
prohibited between persons sharing a plant emblem. A third rule quoted to
Williams was that marriage was prohibited between *du* (i.e. real and classificatory
siblings) but permitted and common between cross-cousins. One task of the [121]
present essay is to resolve these contradictions.

Williams, furthermore, confessed himself unable to find any positive marriage 582
regulations, i.e. 'any prescribed classes into which a man is obliged to marry' 583
(1930:132). Here he was being too modest: in a subsequent discussion of 'the four forms of marriage' of the Orokaiva, he actually provided the key to the system, though he was unable to carry its analysis as far as he managed to do in some of his later ethnographies, such as those of the Koiari and the *Papuans of the Trans-Fly*.

The 'four forms' were: purchase, exchange, elopement, and capture. Marriage 583
by capture used to be very frequent and a regular aftermath of cannibal raids. 602
Williams reports that, under this form of marriage, relations between affines
often remained hostile – which is not surprising. In many cases the hostile 578
groups later established peace or at least a truce. One feature of such a truce used to be the payment of bridewealth for captured women. The truce was often negotiated at least partly through the influence of the captive. Though Williams has little information on the compensation paid one gathers that the usual pattern of Orokaiva bridewealth payments was followed: pigs, valuables, bark-cloth, pots, taro, etc. My own data confirm that it was not uncommon for ordinary affinal relations to be established once the captors had paid bridewealth. Children of the marriage would then set up the customary relationship with their mother's brother and even receive permanent rights in hunting lands and the like.

Elopement marriage likewise used to be very frequent. Williams reports that it

583 Forms of dual organisation between pairs of reciprocating groups have always
been of limited scope as the groups tended to reside apart from each other, and
528 each group tended to have marriage exchange relations with several other groups
616 at the same time. Even the short genealogies of Sivepe show evidence that the
families of this village have been participating in no less than twenty-five
reciprocating pairs of groups, the exchange sometimes consisting of no more
[177] than one recorded exchange of women between two villages. Interestingly
[361] enough, it was Australian pressure towards village consolidation that emphasised
the tendency to dual organisation.

First of all, co-residence tends to increase the number of marriages between
361 local clan groups which are thus thrown together. Usually, such local clan groups
178 are already reciprocating pairs, but when co-residence is established, they begin
to reciprocate at a greater rate. For instance, the Seho and Jegase local clan
614 groups in Sivepe, comprising together sixteen households, are linked by seven
583 current Seho-Jegase marriages. This was sufficient to define the seven Seho
households and the nine Jegase households as standing in an affinal relation to
one another.

614 In such a village the other households tend to be classified as adhering to one
of the two dominant local clan groups. A few years before I came to Sivepe,
621 Rimoldi and Waddel had both visited the village and recorded the presence of a
166 third local clan group, called Timumu. On my arrival I found that this group,
616 consisting of three households, had adopted the Jegase clan name, thus
establishing a tidy dualist pattern between one group defined as agnates and a
second group defined as affines. A few months before I settled in Sivepe, six
households migrated there from Garombi. All the men were members of the
Sorovi clan, though of different lineages. A year after they migrated, five of the
householders were classified as part of the Jegase clan (by the use of sibling
terms of address) while the sixth was classified as part of the Seho clan.

621 I found a similar pattern in eleven other multi-clan villages I visited. When I
first inquired, I was mostly told that they were two-clan villages, the names of
614 the clans being given in each case. Two of the villages were said to have four
616 clans, two pairs of two. Whenever I sought detailed data, I found male
householders belonging to additional clans. In Hohorita I was told that the front
half was inhabited by two clans, and the back half by two further clans. In fact
twelve clans were represented; when this came to light, my informants explained
to me that the clan names I had been given at first were those of the 'main'
clans. There seemed to be a strong ideological notion that a multi-clan village (or
[582] village section) should consist of two local clan groups. Furthermore, this
arrangement affects the marriage rules: once Timumu became joined with Jegase
under the same clan name, marriages between the two fused local clan, groups
became prohibited.

5. *Complementary Opposition in Village Topography*

If the reduction of multi-clan to two-clan villages had occurred only in Sivepe and a few other villages, it could easily be explained solely by processes of clan fusion which are prevalent throughout the area and which will be discussed further below. But I found it to be a regular feature of the

consolidated Orokaiva villages I visited. Yet historical evidence of earlier 621
settlements precludes the supposition that co-residence of reciprocating marriage 614
groups was ever a regular practice or a preferential rule. Such co-residence can be
explained only by Australian pressure towards village consolidation. Far from 616
being congenial to the Orokavia, it may better be regarded as a major potential cause [583]
of strain. When the Australian administration planned to intensify this
consolidation policy after the Mount Lamington eruption in 1951, Belshaw [177]
rightly warned the authorities in a published paper (1951) that the enforced [578]
co-residence of affines would create serious social strains which might impede
the administration's social development objectives. The Orokaiva response to
these social strains appears to have been to restructure the multi-clan villages and
give them an organisational form they are more easily able to handle. Under this
arrangement agnates, uterine kin and affines live together in the same village but
are sorted into two groups of real or fictional agnates. These two groups have
affinal relations with one another and stand in complementary opposition in
social and political affairs.

In some villages this complementary opposition is further expressed in the 361
position of the two groups in village topography. Nearly all Orokaiva villages are 616
built in two facing rows separated by a fairly wide grassed area known as the
araha. For cosmological reasons that do not concern us here, these rows tend to
run in the direction of the top of Mount Lamington – from downhill (*veari*) to
uphill (*avunu*). The two rows are known as *mende* or *bende*, a word which may
mean 'nose' or 'hillock' or 'side of a village'. The two sides are designated as
ihane and *sose*, *ihane* being to the right of a person facing the mountain, *sose* on
the left. In 1965, when Sivepe was rebuilt on a new site, all Seho men built their
houses on the *ihane* side while all Jegase men built on the *sose* side.

Outwardly, the topography of this new Sivepe does not differ significantly 361
from the earliest descriptions we have of Orokaiva villages in the early 616
post-contact period. These villages also had two sides. They had the same short
connecting lines of houses at the *avunu* and *veari* ends of the village. Williams 621
reports that these connecting lines prevent spirits from coming into the *araha*.
The only differences are in size and in the style of the houses. The basic
innovation in New Sivepe lies in the arrangement of social groups on the village
site. Real or assumed agnatic links now exist between all the householders on
each side, whereas affinal relations exist between all the householders of one side
and the other. The door openings of the affines face each other, but they are
separated by the wide field of the *araha*. When people sit down to smoke and
chew betelnut in front of their houses, there is easy movement between
residents who live on the same side. They frequently visit each other's fires
without any ceremony. But one does not cross the *araha* to sit on the other side
without a serious purpose. One watches what happens on the other side; one
does not always hear it. There is frequent and friendly contact between the sides
but it is clear to the observer that the physical distance between them symbolises
an equally real social distance.

This residential arrangement between affines is not traditional. If affines 361
happened to live in a traditional hamlet there were no formal patterns for 616
keeping them at a physical distance. When multi-clan villages were first 614
established, households of the various clans were placed next to each other in a 621
[178]

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●614
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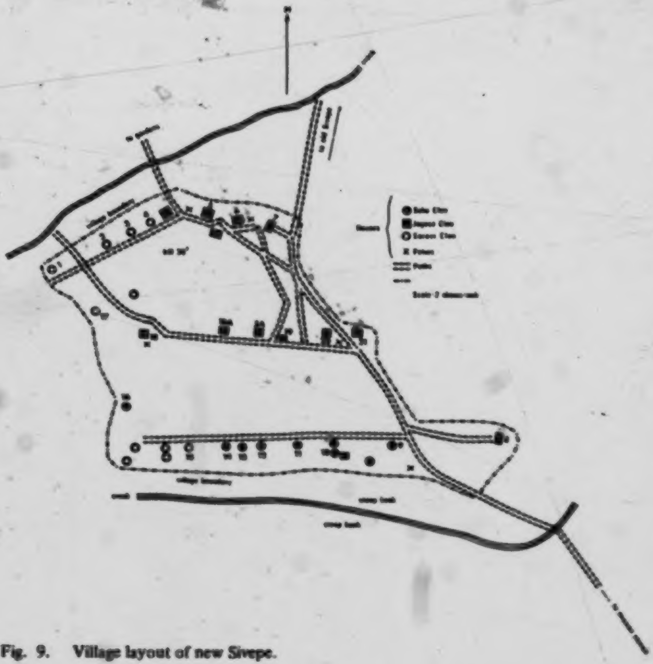


Fig. 9. Village layout of new Sivepe.

361 rather irregular pattern. Village plans of Sivepe drawn by Rimoldi and Waddell in
616 1963 and 1964 show no formal separation between the clans. Some neighbouring villages, such as Garombi, however, did allocate one side to each of their two
614 clans. The fact that Sivepe introduced this pattern in 1965 has no particular
621 explanation except that it appealed to the Seho clan leader who supplied the land for the village site. One might describe his innovation as an idiosyncrasy or a fashion but at the same time it is significant that the pattern of residence he introduced resembles that familiar to anthropologists in the many parts of the world where exogamous moieties are found.

583 I have now shown most of the evidence for direct marriage exchange and
616 forms of dual organisation. The question that remains to be answered is why this
121 system was so fitfully practised. Are the discrepant cases to be explained merely by organisational factors such as lack of choice, the vicissitudes of war, the need for alliances? Or are there present in the culture a further set of rules related to marriage which we have not yet considered and which are irreconcilable with the principle of direct marriage exchange?

Affine (A): Spouses of consanguines of own and junior generation; co-eval 601 and senior consanguines of those spouses.
Generational Removal: G–O: Same generation as *ego*. Gl: One generation removed. G2: Two or more generations removed.
Sex of alter: M: Male; F: Female.
Sex of ego: Em: Male *ego* Ef: Female *ego*
Relative sex of ego and alter: SS: Same sex. OS: opposite sex.
Relative sex in consanguineal linkages; / /: Relationship is either wholly agnatic or wholly uterine. X: relationship is neither wholly agnatic nor wholly uterine. It passes through at least one opposite-sex linkage.
Marriageability (same generation only): Ma: Relationship belongs to marriageable category. NMa: Relationship belongs to non-marriageable category.
Relative age of alter: Sr: Older. Yr: Younger.

Using this code, we may define in the following way the kinship terms used in addressing consanguines. The bracketed terms are in the dialects from which Williams' information is drawn.[1]

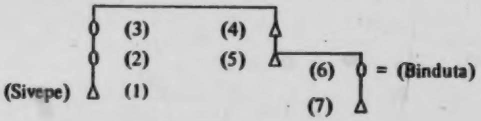
epe:	M	Sr	G2	C			(Williams: *ahije*)
	M	Sr	Gl	X	C		(Williams: *nobo*)
jape:	F	Sr	G2	C			(Williams: *ahije*)
mama:	M	Sr	Gl	/ /	C		
aja:	F	Sr	Gl	/ /	C		
tata:	F	Sr	Gl	X	C		
apa:	SS	Sr	G–O	/ /	C		(Williams: *bitepemi*)
	SS	Sr	G–O	X	NMa	C	(Williams: *simbo*)
eambo:	SS	Jr	G–O	/ /	C		(Williams: *biteambo*)
	SS	Jr	G–O	X	NMa	C	(Williams: *simbo*)
du:	OS	G–O	/ /	C			
	OS	G–O	X	NMa	C		
simbo:	G–O	X	Ma	C			
meni:	M	Jr	Gl	/ /	C		(Williams: *mei*)
iai:	F	Jr	Gl	/ /	C		
ahije:	Jr	Gl	X	C			
	Jr	G2	C				

This componential analysis, prepared from Orokaiva ideological statements, 583 contains all the ambiguities characteristic of the system itself. Different local clan groups are supposed to use sibling terms in addressing each other. But this is 614 above all a strategic device to emphasise the obligation of mutual political and 601 military support. Extension of the exogamy rule to distant clansmen would logically follow from their classification as siblings, but serve no useful purpose. On the contrary, if local clan groups live at some distance from one another, the bonds between them will wear rather thin unless intermarriage between them actually does occur. In practice, distant local clan groups are not infrequently used as partners in reciprocating pairs of groups. They are then regarded as not 'really' agnates, and terms of address such as *simbo epe, tata* are used. Once intermarriage has been instituted such terms are regularly transmitted from one generation to the next.

601 Within the village, two different principles prevail according to the presence or absence of a generation difference. Where a generation difference exists, opposite sex linkages are always expressed in terms of address. A mother's brother is always called *epe*. The *epe/ahije* bond is based on mutual affection and voluntary support, whereas the *mama/meni* bond is based on strong mutual obligations and an authority/obedience relationship. On the other hand, collaterals of the same local clan group will never call each other *simbo* even though biologically they may be cross-cousins. They use sibling terms and are strictly bound by exogamy rules. In a multi-clan village, collaterals of different clans will sometimes use sibling, sometimes cross-cousin terminology. Here the criterion is whether the persons concerned shared a plant emblem (*hae*).

582 614 924 A rule that was expressed to me often and forcibly was that people should not marry if they share a paternal or maternal *hae*. The relationship of a person with his *hae* is one of complete identification. If a man says that his *hae* is *sasaha* grass, he means that *sasaha* grass is his 'ancestor' and that he himself *is sasaha* grass; i.e. he is completely identified with it. If two people are identified with the same plant in this way they are siblings; they cannot possibly be anything else.

601 602 In general therefore a *simbo* is someone with whom one does not share a *hae*. This rule obtains whether or not *ego* and *alter* live in the same village. A study of actual kin relationships between *simbo* in different villages bore this out. A typical *simbo* relationship would be between *fafasiso* children/*famobrososo*. The *fafasi's hae* would be transmitted to her son, but not to her son's children. The latter would therefore share no *hae* with the grandmother's natal family. Some *simbo* relationships are far more distant than the one quoted here. A typical example is the following:



Here the *simbo* relationship links families of two villages, Sivepe and Binduta. The genealogical pattern may be accounted for by extremely strong attachment between siblings of opposite sex (*du*), and for the tendency for this strong attachment to be reproduced in the next generation. The genealogical connection between *simbo* often passes between two or more of these *du* linkages. A person thus tends to have numerous *simbo* scattered in many villages with some of which has own village may never have intermarried. Even a limited amount of intermarriage between villages may set up a good number of *simbo* links between them, as the links of filiation and siblingship to which the genealogies refer are often merely classificatory. For instance, the individuals numbered (3) and (4) in the above diagram were not true but classificatory siblings.

It will be noticed that the *simbo* category can be defined only by a series of negative rules. It is a set of distant kinsmen which remains when positively

defined sets of consanguines have been excluded. Marriage with the *simbo* 601
cannot therefore be regarded as following the principles of an 'elementary' 602
system of kinship. In practice it does not take many generations before the intermarrying groups forming a 'reciprocating pair' are married out, i.e. unable to supply any further partners to each other. In Sivepe, Jegase and Seho, even with only seven current intermarriages out of sixteen households and a reciprocating relationship of less than three generations, seemed to have nearly exhausted all marital possibilities. The difficulties of my interpreter, a bachelor 582
belonging to the Jegase clan, will serve as an example. He was not allowed to 614
marry the girl he loved (Seho clan) because she was a classificatory mother's sister's daughter. But there would have been equally grave obstacles if he had wished to marry into four of the remaining six Seho households, as the girls of these households shared either his father's or his mother's *hae*. The rule prohibiting marriage with a person sharing a paternal or maternal *hae* has an interesting randomising effect that should be briefly discussed. At least forty-two *hae* were used in Sivepe. The persons sharing these *hae* were by no means always close relatives. They might be wives of Sivepe men, and born in a quite different village. Again, some people had many *hae*, four or five was quite common. In these circumstances the Orokaiva rule could never produce a stable system of four or more sections, as any section might at any time adopt a *hae* which would prevent marriage with another section. Furthermore, any portentous event, such as a woman falling to her death from a certain species of tree, would lead to the introduction of a new *hae* which might be adopted by several persons for reasons of sentiment or religious awe rather than the regulation of future marriages. Finally, individuals not infrequently transmitted maternal *hae* to their children, especially if they resided matrilocally or uxorilocally.

We conclude therefore that the rule of marriage with the *simbo* resembles a game of chance in which the odds become progressively more unfavourable, though the rate at which they become worse is itself determined by chance. In practice, therefore, every village played at many tables at once, not only because of ecological circumstances, vicissitudes of war and the need for alliances, but also because the rules of marriage themselves make no other strategy possible.

7. *Sex Affiliation*

It is an understood principle that under a system of restricted exchange the matrimonial destiny of brother and sister lies in the same kinship group whereas under generalised exchange it is different. Williams' data on the Koiari, as analysed by Lévi-Strauss, show that this tribe strongly emphasises difference of matrimonial destiny by the device of giving the brother a paternal and the sister a maternal clan name. Among the Orokaiva the principle of sex affiliation is likewise utilised, though far more feebly, to convey a simple message. The firmest evidence is found in kinship terminology and in the theory of paternity.

For the purpose of componential analysis of terms used in addressing affines, 601
one dimension of contrast must be added to those given in the previous section. We shall distinguish sister exchange and *dorobu* marriages by the following code:

601 *Min*: Sister exchange marriage. *Dor*: Marriage 'by purchase'. Under this code, we may define the following terms:

1. *Terms principally used for addressing consanguines*:

epe:	Ef	M	Sr	Gl	A
	M	Sr	Gl	A	Min
tata:	Ef	F	Sr	Gl	A
	F	Sr	Gl	A	Min
ahije:	F	Jr	Gl	A	
	Jr	Gl	A	Min	

2. *Exclusively affinal terms*

atovo:	Em	M	Sr	Gl	//	A	Dor
imbohi:	Em	F	Sr	Gl	A	Dor	(Williams: *imboti*)
behere:	Em	SS	Gl	X	A	Dor	(Williams: *betere*)
dambo:	Em	SS	G–O	//	A		(Williams: *nabori*)
	Em	SS	G–O	X	A		(Williams: *betere*)
hovatu:	OS	G–O	A				
bi:	Ef	SS	G–O	A			
imi:	M	Jr	Gl	A	Dor		

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602 The fact that a brother and sister, upon marriage, use different types of affinal kinship terms corresponds to a fundamental difference in their social position in relation to their affinal family. The brother, under a *dorobu* marriage contract, remains a perpetual debtor to his affines. He has deprived them of their most precious possession, a nubile daughter, without giving a woman in exchange. Even though he has given bridewealth and done bride service, and continued making prestations of many kinds, these propitiatory offerings do not wipe out the debt. The *imi* must therefore always act with humility and feel shame when he meets his *atovo* and even more, his *imbohi*. His sister, however, is under no such burden in her relations with her own affines. Her position is precisely the same, whether the marriage has been established by *mine* or *dorobu*. Her use of consanguineal terminology expresses her far greater familiarity and identification.

[591] It might be argued that such familiarity and identification is the direct consequence of patrilocal virilocal residence, but such residence arrangements do not always lead to the terminological differences I have described. These differences, however, are consistent with an ideology which emphasises the detachment of women from their natal clans and their close attachment to their mother's village to which they are supposed to move upon marriage.

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614 Such an ideology is further emphasised by the Orokaiva notions about paternity. Orokaiva believe that a male child is formed in the womb as the result of sexual congress between father and mother, but that a female child is formed by 'the mother sleeping alone'. The male child therefore carries the 'blood' of the father, enabling the child to carry on the father's lineage, but the female child does not. She is still a member of the paternal clan but the connection is evidently viewed as social rather than physiological. Accordingly all females are named by their mother's consanguines, in contrast to males who may be named

by a consanguine of either side, the proper side being determined by a medicine 842
man (See Schwimmer 1969). The effect of this theory is that a woman belongs 614
to her clan in a less absolute sense than a man.

This theory of paternity may be explained teleologically as serving to 614
emphasise the rights and identity of the patriclan in a social system which 'very
nearly approaches' bilaterality. In Orokaiva society women very often receive a 423
portion of patrimony land. Their indulgent brothers frequently give lands to 428
their sister's children and such land may well pass into the hands of those
children's heirs. Currently, over 50 per cent of cultivated land is owned by 562
persons other than the cultivators, and very often the cultivator's useholds
became perpetuated. Such perpetuation proceeds in spite of an explicit rule
denying women hereditary rights to their patrimony useholds. The physiological
reasoning by which Orokaiva women are denied full clan membership should
therefore be interpreted as a symbolic statement insisting on the limits that
should be placed upon uterine intrusion on clan property.

When Orokaiva informants are asked why women should not have hereditary rights over land, they usually give as the reason that a woman will marry into a strange clan and village so that it would be dangerous to give her children any rights. Such reasoning goes back to a time when the most frequent marriage forms were abduction and elopement. In practice, the fate of a woman's patrimony rights depends on where she marries: if she does marry in a friendly neighbouring village or by sister exchange, her children will probably keep her property. This is therefore the preferred feminine pattern. But if she is taken by a man from a strange village, her clan rights become precarious. We have already seen that this latter pattern of marriage is forced upon men not only by ecological contingencies but by the marriage rules themselves. Ideological devices to deny women full clan membership are consistent with this pattern. Such devices are inconsistent with restricted marriage exchange, because the latter system depends on the return of a woman's offspring to her natal clan as marriage partners in a later generation. In the Orokaiva system this is envisaged as only one of several structurally recognised possibilities.

8. *The Nature of Orokaiva Bridewealth*

The most convenient way of explaining the nature of Orokaiva bridewealth 583
payments (*dorobu*) is by contrasting them with certain types of African
bridewealth (*lobola*), as analysed by Lévi-Strauss.[2] Here the recipient applies the 171
gifts, wholly or in large part, to the immediate purchase of wives for himself or
his family. *Lobola 'n'est recu que pour commencer. . aussitôt, un nouveau circuit . . . Il ne sera jamais consommé, sauf, occasionellement et partiellement, à des fins sacrificielles. A peine reçu, il fera l'objet d'un remploi, sous la forme d'une épouse pour le frère ou le cousin de la jeune marié* (1967:536). Under such a system it could rightly be said that '*la femme fournie en contrepartie est remplacée par une valeur symbolique*' and that the wife-giving families received in return '*la garantie, sous forme de biens privilégiés, de trouver elles-mêmes des épouses*' (*ibid.* 540).

Papuan bridewealth objects, however, cannot generally be applied to the same 583
ends, or are not in practice generally so applied. The most important Orokaiva

829 773 of feasts, explaining why there is a rule that feasts may be held only when it is ritually established that food will be plentiful.

Discussion of this myth made it clear that the feast is regarded as a purely temporary interruption of the state of strife, but that it can restore a temporary harmony if ritual is properly observed. The feast-givers must have an abundance of food; they must give everything they have to their guests. Their ancestors will then bless them; their enemies will remove evil spells from their lands, and their gardens will greatly prosper afterwards.

At a feast the Orokaiva became ritually and spiritually identified with their primal ancestors and re-enact the peace and harmony that existed in original time before strife began. It was, however, the traditional belief that such a state could not be expected to last; that after the feast strife would re-assert itself. The myth instructed man to hold feasts 'from time to time', the interval between one feast and another being characterised by food shortage and warfare. Peace was not considered to be a possible permanent state, though my informants remarked that since the coming of the white man it had become so.

583 614 We find a similar cyclical pattern in the marriage practices of social groups. Let us take as the commencement of the cycle a crisis such as a military defeat or serious quarrel which leads a fragment of a social group to separate, move some distance away and establish a new settlement. Such a group will usually begin to intermarry with new groups using devices such as abduction and elopement. Gradually, they will set up a number of reciprocal arrangements with groups in the vicinity. When relations with reciprocating groups become very close, the time will come, usually after two or three generations, when marriages between these groups become impossible under the rules. At this point the former affines have all been turned into notional consanguines. Unless the two sides quarrel (which is not infrequent), the stage is now set for clan fusion.

It could be demonstrated, from a detailed analysis of Sivepe marriages, that the composition of both the Seho and the Jegase local clan groups may be explained by this process. Three of the four 'lineages' of which the Jegase group is composed have migrated to Sivepe since the beginning of the century. One of the waves of migrants already bore the clan name Jegase when they lived at Kiorota, their village of origin. The other two groups assumed it quite recently, after more than two generations of residence and intermarriage. Seho was welded together a good deal earlier than Jegase, so that the lineages are no longer commonly distinguished by name, and the ideology of common agnatic origin is far more firmly established. Seho must, however, have had four lineages at one time and I was able to establish the village of origin of three of them, as well as numerous intermarriages with the Seho of Sivepe after arrival. Intermarriage seems to have become more difficult between these Seho lineages about fifty years ago, and fusion must have been complete by 1925. A marriage between two Seho lineages arranged around 1935 was the last, and caused much annoyance though there was no common *hae*.

I am not suggesting that the process described here explains all Orokaiva clan fusions, but only that the marriage system does in fact turn groups of affines into consanguines and that these consanguines if they live close together tend to assume a common clan name. The importance of this process for the study of kinship structure lies in the fact that it is explicable neither by rules of restricted

exchange alone, nor by rules of complex generalised exchange alone. If the 583
Orokaiva had only restricted exchange, they would not be periodically forced to 614
look for new groups with whom to intermarry. If the Orokaiva had only
complex exchange (as Meggitt seems to believe is the case for all people of the
New Guinea Highlands, viz. the Introduction to Glasse and Meggitt, 1969), then
there would be no explanation for the various forms of preferential marriage
that are still practised and the tendency to establish forms of dual organisation.

From one viewpoint we may say that the Orokaiva system is *'une sorte de
faille de l'échange restreint'*, because the Orokaiva are forever trying to
re-establish such a system. From another viewpoint it is true that, having entered [616]
into new alliances and thus moved in the direction of a system of generalised
exchange, they always attempt as soon as possible to convert the new alliance
into a moiety system. The fear of setting up alliances with new groups is still
very strong today, in spite of wide experience with travel among foreign tribes
when men take up wage employment outside their own district. They still marry
wives preferably from their own village, or one of the villages with which
reciprocal arrangements exist. There was not a single current Sivepe marriage
that fell outside this pattern.

It is certainly curious that the chief effect of white contact upon the marriage 583
system was to emphasise the tendency to the formation of moieties through 614
enforced village consolidation. One would have expected that greater physical 616
security, greater mobility and the contacts brought about through labour
migration would have widened rather than narrowed the men's matrimonial 177
universe. One imagines that processes of social and economic development must
ultimately make an ideology of restricted exchange obsolete. Meanwhile,
however, we observe mainly a movement in the opposite direction. Not only has
government pressure unintentionally increased the opportunities for village
endogamy, and moiety formation, but the combined teaching of government
and mission has deprecated elopement marriages, and penalised the showing of
hostility between affines. The war expeditions which led indirectly to so many
marriages were stopped. The concern with pacification on the part of the
authorities led to an even greater preference than previously for 'safe' marriages
and therefore a narrowing of the marriage universe. My records show more
marriages with partners from distant villages prior to 1915 than can be found
over the last generation. It is therefore complex generalised rather than restricted
exchange that was (unintentionally) discouraged.

10 *Conclusions*

This examination of the Orokaiva marriage system indicates that membership in 582
corporate groups (the *hae*, the local clan group and the village) all have a
significant influence on marriage choice, not only negatively, by prohibiting 614
certain partners under a rule of exogamy, but also positively, by pursuing from 583
time to time the establishment of forms of dual organisation. Certainly every
individual is more or less free to choose between the two existing systems –
direct exchange and complex generalised exchange. There is, however, a constant
feature on the level of group relationships, namely the existence of reciprocating
pairs of groups. Another constant feature is the temporary nature of these

582 reciprocal relationships which must collapse, due to the operation of the rules,
after a few generations. This collapse may either take the form of a separation
614 between the two groups or of a fusion into one local clan group. I have shown
583 that the genesis of many Orokaiva local clan groups may be found in this
process.

602 In the terms used in previous chapters one may categorise sister exchange and
the women exchanges in reciprocating pairs of groups as phases of cycles of
583 positive reciprocity. On the other hand, marriage by capture and elopement is a
614 phase of a cycle of negative reciprocity. The long series of prestations offered by
the bridegroom and the humiliations suffered by him have the effect of shifting the social relationship with the affinal group into a cycle of positive reciprocity. We therefore do not need to suppose that the bride is regarded as symbolically equivalent to *dorobu* as some African analogies might suggest. *Dorobu* is sufficiently explained as a magical device whereby a reversal in the mode of reciprocity (from negative to positive) is effected. The full range of gifts symbolises the wide scope of the resulting social relationship.

The theory assumes a profound dependence upon the affinal group. This dependence is in fact emphasised in many social, economic, political and religious situations. Ideally, an affinal relationship leads to the establishment of a pair of reciprocating groups. In the light of this understanding, it becomes clear that the exchanges analysed in the preceding chapters are consequences of the group relations set up by the marriage system. In chapter V, I showed the prevalence of a principle of dual allegiance resulting from the inheritance of land originally belonging to the mother's brother. I showed that a critical situation arises in the third generation when the uterine family does not renounce its residual rights but the social relations which give reality to these residual rights, viz. dual allegiance, becomes problematical.

583 The system would appear, indeed, to be so automatically productive of crises
that one might wonder how it could ever have been maintained. It becomes
614 much easier to understand if we recognise that the daughter of the marriage is
expected to marry in the mother's brother's village. The land can thus revert to the people of the original village by a series of two uterine transfers. The system looks a little like the 'rope' of the Mundugumor (Mead 1935), and the latter may well have a similar explanation. It has a clear political utility as the dual allegiance pattern forms the basis of Orokaiva political alliances. It is buttressed by religious beliefs, as the spirit of a male child may be derived from either an agnatic or a uterine ancestor, by the process of reincarnation to which I have already referred.

Ultimately there would appear to be two possible outcomes of such hereditary land gifts: fusion of the reciprocating pairs of groups into one local clan group and separation on more or less hostile terms. These two outcomes correspond to the two modalities of the marriage system. The hostile modality is not a *failure* of the system but a natural and accepted part of it. Thus, the frequent migration of groups, as evidenced in Sivepe and many parts of New Guinea, should not be regarded as purely adventitious, but is structurally determined as part of a system which, as we have seen, could not work over a long period with a static population.[4]

The frequent exchanges of cooked taro reported in Chapter VI tend to keep

reciprocating pairs of groups in a state of pseudo-commensality. They share not 583
only the land but also its products. The symbolic significance of taro, as set out 614
in that chapter, accords with this theory. Symbolically, taro are children of the
marriage of the donors; they are constantly being given away both inside and
outside the *simbo* relationship.

On the other hand, the pig belongs essentially to the sphere of *dorobu* marriage, not only because pigs are always sacrificed on such occasions, but because they are the institutionalised means whereby a negative cycle of reciprocity can be made positive.

Again, the coconut-betelnut myth has not merely to do with marriage as the union of two partners or even families, but is a charter for the offering of these nuts on the graves of affines by a large group of survivors who gathered for a mortuary ceremony – a ceremony which often brought together a number of entire villages. The ritual celebrates (as the myth also indicates) the ideal of sister exchange marriage.

This brief summary shows the relationship of objects of mediation to social 121
structure. Social structure, in the sense in which I am using the term, is most 571
clearly articulated in the marriage system, though other systems (e.g. institutionalised hereditary friendship) may also provide important clues to the structure. If the study of objects of mediation provides no more than a manual of some Orokaiva magic, the social structure provides the ultimate rationale of this magic. The structure, as analysed in this chapter, has the objectivity of a mathematical formula. The living fabric of the society has a beauty which we can never ignore and which perhaps forms the *raison d'être* of much of our study. We find this living actuality in the magical processes whereby social relationships are established, maintained and broken. We find it in the pattern of alternation of friendship and enmity, in the unpredictability of the duration of any positive or negative cycle. Barnes (1962) came very close to recognising this pattern when he suggested that the difference between African and New Guinean models may be explained by the New Guinean preoccupation with *killing*. Certainly the Orokaiva world view is greatly preoccupied with killing.

Perhaps this is a price one pays for the orientation towards exchange: one must always be prepared to see a positive cycle of reciprocity break down and a negative one begin, often in a most violent manner. Clearly, the corporate group is not a concept which leads to a full understanding of the basic operation of such a culture. It is for this reason that I have attempted an analysis in which the marriage system is the key to the structure and the institutions arise out of the operation of exchange, structured according to magical formulae which are themselves moulded by the marriage system.

REFERENCES

1. Some discrepancies between Williams' terms and mine may be due to 601
local differences or to cultural changes. It is possible that the modern prevalence of the multi-clan village has led to reduced use of the *simbo* category and to the dropping of the term *behere* between members of the same generation. Culture change may also account for the reduced use of self-reciprocal terms between alternate generations.

After 1958 most of the coffee produced by indigenous 245
growers in the Northern District came from plots which were 423
planted by individuals (largely as a result of agricultural ex-
tension services) and registered under the Higaturu Local
Government Council land registration scheme. The communal
project was formally abandoned in 1960 with the repeal of the
Native Plantations Ordinance.(1) Crown lands reverted to the
Crown and native lands to their owners. The Government has
treated the Crown lands as reserves for the local people and
has not taken any action to restrict their use as communal plan-
tations. Today, however, only 9 of the 16 pre-war plantations 433
which we visited are producing at all, and they at only a fraction
of their potential output.

We traced the history of the Ongoho community block 578
in detail in a series of separate interviews at each of the [124]
villages which had participated in the project.(2) The collapse
of the project there was caused by disagreement over land
rights, apportionment of work and distribution of income. The [614]
disputing parties were the various sub-clans which had partici-
pated in the project. The sub-clans may be roughly equated
with villages.(3)

Before the war, strict control by the Administration 657
precluded the emergence of these particular problems: the land 245
had been demarcated and the trees planted under close super-
vision, fixed patterns of work were imposed, and the money was
paid to each man by a government official. By the late 1940's
however, the sanctions for failure to work were not in fact being
exercised, and attendance was irregular. The Ongoho "coffee 245
boss" who had been responsible for local supervision from
about 1945 found the dissension too much to control and re-
signed in 1948. Little work was being done and the govern-

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(1) The Native Plantations (Papua) Repeal Ordinance 1960.

(2) This was necessary because the issue is still very contentious and feelings about the disputes over the community gardens are still strong.

(3) In fact each village is regarded as being that of a particular sub-clan, despite the [621]
existence of smaller enclaves of other sub-clans in most of them. Marriage is usually
(but not exclusively) between sub-clans and almost invariably within the Asigi tribal [582]
group.

245 ment coffee pulping machine was withdrawn. Supervision of
the coffee was taken over by the village constable (who had been
in charge of the coffee before the war) but no records of
attendance were kept. Later, at the constable's suggestion, a
Patrol Officer is said to have appointed one Haruma (who is a
classificatory brother of the constable's wife) as coffee boss.
This must have been an unofficial appointment as he was not
[578] paid. There was by this time a continuing dispute about the
distribution of income from the coffee.

The Hoiwo'undi sub-clan, on whose land the Ongoho
578 coffee was planted, claimed a larger share of the proceeds
423 because the land was "theirs". As no agreement was reached,
the Hoiwo'undi forbade members of other sub-clans to enter the
614 coffee gardens. This prohibition was respected even though
many people felt it to have been unjust. Legally of course
neither Hoiwo'undi nor any other sub-clan had any right to the
land, because the whole garden area had been purchased by the
Crown in 1922 and set aside as a reserve for the purpose of a
native plantation in 1923. But security of tenure is dependent
much more on beliefs than it is on law and in fact the people do
not concede the government's right to the land. All are agreed
that it is Hoiwo'undi land, though the other sub-clans consider
that as everybody cleared the bush and planted the trees, it is
unjust that Hoiwo'undi should have denied them access. Nobody,
[241] however, seems to deny their right to do so. In fact
Hoiwo'undi people had been using the front part of the area for
a food garden before the community coffee plantation was established.
One family of Akute'undi sub-clan had also been
gardening there with the approval of Hoiwo'undi. The coffee
boss (Haruma) was also the leader of the Hoiwo'undi sub-clan.

For a time the community garden was abandoned
245 altogether, but later some Hoiwo'undi people harvested coffee
there spasmodically. The income was shared within Hoiwo'undi.
No weeding, pruning or other maintenance work was carried
731 out at this period. At the time of the Mt. Lamington eruption
in 1951 all work ceased. The government coffee factory and
241 buying centre was destroyed and so were several of the community
plantations.(1) Due to the trauma caused by the disaster

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(1) In fact the coffee trees grew again from seed which had been lying in the ground and which was not affected by the eruption. These self-sown trees have not been tended or thinned, however, and their productive potential today seems to be very low.

Conclusions

433 241 All the attempts to promote communal cash cropping among the Orokaiva have been economic failures. There is no evidence to suggest that they have been successful in any non-economic sense. Each of the ventures has been associated with problems of land tenure, work organization, income distribution and motivation. We will deal with each of these problems in turn.

423 ●[614] Problems of land tenure: When a sub-clan or other descent group has set aside land for use by a larger body which includes other descent groups, the donor descent group is recognized in terms of traditional culture as having residual rights to the land. These rights may still be recognized by the community even if they have been abolished by legal action in terms of administrative procedures (see pages 10 and 25).(1) A This is particularly so in cases where the setting aside has been the result of a degree of persuasion which appears to the people as compulsion. Strict government supervision can protect the legal rights but, if none of the parties are particularly anxious to have them protected, the supervision needs to be constant and [461] strict to be effective. Even then the results are unlikely to justify the effort required to effect the controls, for supervision by force results in very high overhead costs and seldom motivates workers to maximise output.

241 614 [592] We do not know of any instance of communal planting of cash crops by a single descent group on the land of that descent group. Traditionally all planting was organized at the level of the primary household, with some reciprocal assistance from other households for specific tasks at irregular intervals. If a single descent group did undertake clearing, planting and harvesting of cash crops jointly, tenure problems would be un-

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(1) A similar phenomenon was observed in the Ambenob scheme near Madang where the Administration purchased land from the villagers and leased it to the Local Government Council for sub-lease to individual farmers for cash cropping. The purpose of the scheme was to give security of tenure to the individual, but as both vendors and sub-lessees recognized some degree of residual right as remaining with the vendors, a sense of security has not been achieved. This is one reason why sub-lessees are in fact planting their cash crops more on their traditional lands than on their sub-leases.

A, [See Category 423, pp. 10, 25--Analyst]

likely to emerge. Problems of work organization and income 241
distribution may nevertheless arise.[1] 614

Problems of work organization: The communal plantations almost all involved several unrelated descent groups
which traditionally recognized no single leader. The Orokaiva [726]
did occasionally form larger ad hoc groups for warfare and sometimes for forest clearing, but these were temporary associations directed to the achievement of a short term goal. This of itself does not preclude the formation of new and larger groupings with unitary leadership provided there is either a strong desire for group action (and the necessary institutions to direct it), or strong external sanctions to enforce it.

The earliest communal plantings of coconuts and 245
rubber by the Orokaiva were carried out under instructions 249
from officials and sufficient pressure was exerted to ensure 657
compliance. The pressure was not, however, maintained and
the coconut and rubber trees were little cared for after planting. 466
Nor was harvesting for market enforced. Prices were low; the coconuts were seldom made into copra and the rubber was never tapped until the time of the war.[2]

The working of the coffee planted under the Native 245
Plantations Ordinance was strictly supervised. A village con-
stable was in charge of each local group, the European officer 657
in charge patrolled the area regularly, and defaulters were 466
severely punished. The communities regarded the whole
operation as one of oppression by the government. During the [626]
period that government sanctions were reduced and finally withdrawn, coffee prices were high (more than ten times higher
than immediately pre-war). Many people therefore wished to [461]
continue working the coffee gardens, but the community was not
traditionally equipped with adequate sanctions to ensure that [626]
individuals did their share of work, and the law specifically forbade the exercise of sanctions by any indigenous individual or group.

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(1) Since writing this we have been informed of a small (3 acre) communal tobacco-growing project which began at Soroputa in 1948 on the land of a single descent group. [249]
It was reported to have functioned efficiently until it was destroyed by the Mt. Lamington eruption in 1951. [731]

(2) For details of the war-time rubber-tapping scheme see Rimoldi, 1964.

121 125 that studied at Inonda - was the relationship between localized landholding patrilineal groups and their resources. The first group selected was that known as Jegase, which is intermediate in size among the 3 major groups in the village; in order to free our sample of possible bias in its age-structure and other physical characteristics, we also included the smallest group, the Timumu. This addition happened to bring the size of the sample to 50 persons.

125 The inclusion of the second discrete patrilineal group slightly broadened the base of our enquiries, but study of the Jegase provided the most significant data on the subject of land tenure. The sample was made up of 12 households, 8 of them Jegase and 4 Timumu; 10 of the 12 houses contained a nuclear family, 1 contained a widower living alone and the other a widower and 2 close kinsmen dependent on him (see Genealogy on p.52 for links between [614] households). The third major group in the village is known as Seho. Jegase, Timumu and Seho are in fact the names of 3 non-exogamous dispersed patrilineal clans[1] with branches also in other villages containing such fragments of several clans. These fragmented descent units are social categories (see Ch.3) whose members do not have 'ipso facto obligations of a specific kind'.[2]

121 [124] Our observations at Sivepe were supplemented by less systematic interviews with other villagers in what we will call 'the neighbourhood'. We find this term convenient, taking Sivepe as a point of reference, for a region which includes the villages whose members interact closely with Sivepe in the spheres of interest which we examined. It is not a social group even though there is only a small proportion of these villages outside the territory of the group named Awala.[3]

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[829] [1] Often referred to as clans by the people themselves, so that, with the possible exception of orope (see Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:17), 'clan' seems to be the only current general term in local usage, which designates a distinct type of grouping based on descent.

[2] See definition of 'clan' in Royal Anthropological Institute, 1960.

628 [3] Its perimeter is about the same as the limits of the outermost of the local 'zones' within which a notable majority of Sivepe marriages have been concentrated over 3 genealogical generations (see p.48-9). There are suggestions of a tendency at Sivepe for intervillage visiting, associated generally with direct or secondary economic interests, to be confined to villages within such a spatial range, quite small compared with the wide network of similar links in the case of Inonda (P. Krinks and E. Waddell: personal communication).

423 [245] [428] It is customary for a man to plant a few trees on his own land for his sister's children for their later use. Women sometimes acquire trees of their own in this way but unless a woman is the sole surviving member of the agnatic group in which are vested the rights to the land carrying economic trees which she uses, she acquires no rights to specific trees from her father. After marriage she has only limited access to her patrikin's trees whose produce she previously shared. One householder stated [685] that he would not expect his sister to ask for produce from his trees because her husband should have enough of his own. Another once lodged a formal complaint with the Department of District Administration staff against his sister's husband who had come from another village to harvest one of his trees without first seeking his permission.

These restrictions do not apply to a widow who has returned to the village as a dependent on her father's kin; nor do they apply to a married woman if the trees in question were planted by her husband while gardening on the land of her group.

428 Economic trees are ideally inherited patrilineally in the same way as the land of the planter (see p.38).A Sometimes a man inherits trees from his father, usually in an area some distance from where he lives, without retaining proprietary rights to his father's land where the trees stand. The heir then needs to seek permission for access to the trees which he may have been allowed [423] to retain by the deceased's co-resident kin who inherited the land. On the other hand, an individual may receive as a gift (from a distantly related kinsman) continuous rights to trees on land which he knows will be inherited by the donor's patrilineal descendants. In each of these ways rights to trees are transmitted from the planter to another person who does not receive the planter's land.

We noted one case where an individual seems to have reinforced a claim to inherit particular parcels of the land which he hoped he would share with another heir, by planting permanent trees there while gardening. The trees bore witness to the fact that these particular gardening areas had long been identified with him.

425 A man may periodically visit a distant area where he claims proprietary rights to land which he has not gardened for some time and harvest tree crops, or perhaps hunt there, and thereby reassert his claim to the land, but this mechanism is doubtless inadequate unless a close kinsman permanently resident there is willing to represent his interests at other times.

423 614 On special festive occasions a localized patrilineal group has some call on the produce of the trees or even of garden produce of residents of other villages who are either closely related

A,[See Category 428, p. 38--Analyst]

423 [614] clansmen or other kin of members of the group. But this takes the form of a request to these kin to attend and to bring the food with them and the group could never demand access to the resources of others.

Table 3

Rights to economic trees

	No. of trees	% of total
Planted by rightholder or his father on their own land	463	62
Planted by rightholder (or others) on land of another clansman in Sivepe or elsewhere	55	7
Planted by rightholder on land of matrilateral kin	22	3
Planted by others on land of his matrilateral kin	31	4
Planted by rightholder on land of affines	43	6
Planted by rightholder (or others) on land of cognatic kin of another clan	14	2
Planted within village sites	120	16
	748	100

241 f. Equipment

The hardwood dibbling stick, ti, is still used universally for planting taro. Other tubers are sometimes planted in mounds made with a shovel but all of the 4 shovels used by members of the sample had been found (at World War II Army dumps) or had been given to the owner. Every householder owned at least 1 bushknife for use in clearing, weeding and harvesting; all had 1 axe or sometimes 2, and at least 1 grass knife. A few of these tools had been received as gifts. Two householders had picks and 2 others had both hammer and saw, while 2 men had only a saw.

435 Total current replacement value of all these tools, including those found or received as gifts, is £50.6.0d.

The 2 shotguns owned by 2 men would cost roughly £30 each (apart from licences).

g. Labour

461 We conducted a pilot survey of the patterns of work among members of our sample for 6 weeks.[1] Approximate times were

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125 [1] From 10.12.62 to 20.1.63 a similar survey was carried out at Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:61) and fuller studies by P. Krinks and E. Waddell are now being prepared for publication.

342 [476] required to build the short pig fence protecting the average garden. A house is replaced by intermittent work on construction over a period of several weeks.

476 Co-operation with households outside the expanded family is usually on the basis of assistance given for a day or two by an individual to fulfil some kinship obligation or to help a neighbour who is sick. Any assistance a man receives usually comes from individual kin rather than a working party composed of ● 614 his agnates. This may be because Sivepe is one example of the type of Melanesian societies where clans or their segments 'are small and communities composed of several, permitting local endogamy' and co-operation with local kin and affines dilutes the strength of the unilineal group (Brown 1962:68).

461 [164] The work patterns we recorded are summarized in Table 4. The figure for the time taken up by sickness (including caring for the sick) was affected by the facts that during the survey 2 householders suffered from lengthy bouts of malaria (1 was hospitalized) and that some women needed to attend to their sick children; the figure for travel was affected by the absence for several days of 1 householder and his wife who walked to Popondetta where they had business at the District Office.

132 461 The extreme weather conditions experienced during our survey - 26.3 inches of rain in 1 month with 25 wet days followed by a long period without rain - restricted both the range of subsistence activities possible and to some extent the time available for them. The amount of time devoted to subsistence and cash crop gardening was appreciably lower during each of 3 weeks which were marked by [797] the celebration of non-traditional festivals. Several villagers were among a group of 100 people baptized as Anglicans at Sasembata Mission.

795 461 During the week this occurred the women of the sample devoted more time to preparing for and attending the ritual than to economic activities. The men also spent more time than usual in the village, several of them building or repairing houses. Most of the men spent several hours watching the baptism itself. Although the baptism differed from the life-crises traditionally celebrated by feasts, a number of small independent gatherings to mark the transition were held afterwards in the village by the close kin of those baptized.

796 461 Religious observances were accorded a little more time during the week of Christmas than in normal weeks. There were no festivities within the village to mark the occasion and church attendance was the only organized Christmas celebration except for ceremonial at Saiho which a few Sivepe people attended on 461 Boxing Day. Several people were disabled by attacks of malaria at the time but few of the others considered these 2 days as

Chapter 3

Land tenure and social structure

a. The tribe and clan as territorial or political units

128 This section outlines the range of wider common territorial
interests and concerted political action among traditional
[614] groupings. Clans are the largest units in which membership is
determined by patrilineal filiation as distinct from the local
[619] allegiance underlying membership of the tribe, and of the
'district', village, etc., into which the tribe may be divided.

619 The tribe is the largest unit which has a common territory (Williams 1930:156-7). This is usually isolated from neighbouring tribal territories by a belt of uninhabited country and its occupants would speak of it as 'one ground', pusu tahavo. The territories of groups of various orders of inclusiveness within the tribe are also described in this way (see Williams 0.364; 1930:157).

[829] Members of a group of any of these levels might consider themselves as toho, 'countrymen' (see Williams 1930:166; 0.100, 364). In another context a group would consider others in the same tribe as kitoho (outsiders, aliens). All members of the tribe shared common enmities so that at times they would regard themselves as toho whereas neighbouring tribes were always considered kitoho.[1]

[578] There were customary restrictions upon feuding within the tribe.
As Williams (1930:309 ff.) points out, this political unit is the
largest group with its own intragroup morality, in this case
[266] sharply distinguished from the standard forms of hostility between
tribes. Aggression against members of another tribe took the form
[721] of organized, often cannibalistic raids (isoro).

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[1] Williams (1930:160) mentions exceptions where 'friendship or affinity between certain tribes allowed the use of the former word' (toho), but 'tribes...normally stand in the mutual relation of Kitohu' (sic) (ibid: 170; see also 0.100, 364).

619 121 634 have numbered several thousand at least (nor did they have a 'distinct dialect and a uniformity of custom' that might indicate that they by themselves constituted a tribe).

Every Orokaiva person is recruited by birth to the clan of his father.[1] All members of this descent unit claim but cannot trace 851 common patrilineal descent from a usually eponymous ancestor; they 611 do not always share the same plant emblem (erahu)[2] commonly held by patrilineal groups. A large number of clans are included among the mountain Orokaiva; clan membership does not often overlap with 614 tribal membership (though see Williams 1928:406; 1930:154). It is very rare for the clan to act as a political unit, whatever its functions in the past. Williams (1930:102-8) has in mind a different kind of unit (a small, usually localized group 'united by feelings of actual kinship', scarcely more distant than nuclear family relationships) when he says the clan was 'co-operative... in respect to ceremonies and feasts, and more importantly of fighting'.

[621] There are several clans represented in the great majority of the present villages and fragments of the same clans - what we call clan branches[3] - will be found scattered among similar composite villages, often a considerable distance away.

Clans are not linked to form a wider descent group. Some members of 2 or more distinct named clans, whose ancestors were all at one time known by the one clan name, sometimes profess closer ties to one another for this reason. Jegase clan, for instance, is said to have formerly included groups which have become independent clans.

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[1] This disagrees with Williams' description (1930:108) which shows no clear distinction between the clan and lineage (see Royal Anthropological Institute 1960:88-90).

[2] Data from Awala and Wasida villages (see Williams O.83; and Appendix D) differs from the information from Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:16).

[3] Note that Williams (1925:410 and 420) uses either the term 'local clan branch' or 'subclan' to denote 'an incipient clan' which has moved away from the parent group but retains either the original clan name while acquiring a new plant emblem or the original plant emblem while assuming a new clan name. Elsewhere (1928:125) he describes how some clans occupy several villages or parts of villages. Some 'branches' or 'sections' may have adopted a distinctive name or taken possession of the subdivision of former clan land they occupy, while others may not yet have taken either step (ibid.).

614 Although it is said that members of these clans were allies in the past and today their local branches in the one neighbourhood intermarry, their relationsip to one another in regard to land is not directly determined by the recognition of the historical tie between them.[1] Plant (1951: Appendix 2) suggests that another informal link exists between clans whose founders are said to have been allies or associates.

The typical dispersed clan among the mountain Orokaiva now appears to be only a social category. Its members still acknowledge common descent from a single ancestor and have inherited the same name, but this gives them no special access to each others' land. Men have only a superficial acquaintance with the land of other branches of their clan. Nor does the clan seem to function as a group in any other sphere of activity.[2]

178 614 [574] [602] In the past the scattering of clan fragments in distant villages probably served an important function in facilitating travel, but clanship has been almost wholly replaced in this capacity because a traveller now can usually receive hospitality from various kinsmen, often closely related, who are widely dispersed, for one or another reason associated with social and economic change in the area.

614 [731] [621] We have no details concerning either the present number and size of clans among the mountain Orokaiva or the extent of their fragmentation. There is no doubt that the growth of more nucleated villages since the 1951 eruption of Mt Lamington (see Secs b. and e. of this chapter) is a significant uncontrolled variable in any inference from a situation preceding the eruption. Nevertheless, we think that a reasonable indication of the present pattern of

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[1] Plant (1951:3 and Appendix 2), however, is in complete agreement with Williams (1928:126 ff.) and says that 'ownership of land is vested in the clan'; although this ownership is nominal and in practice each branch of the clan regards the land it uses as its own, people from one village agree that their clansmen elsewhere have 'every right to come and settle at their village and that land would be made available to them' and similar rights would be conceded by members of a 'parent clan' to one of its branches which has assumed a new clan name.

[2] Further information now being collected at Sivepe by the New Guinea Research Unit will show whether or not this statement holds for economic activities in general; cf. these clans with the Star Mountains patriclan (J. Pouwer in Watson, ed., 1964:136) which can 'best be characterized as a name group, since the clan name passes from father to son', and 'is neither exogamous nor corporate with respect to political, social, religious or legal matters'.

614 clan distribution can be obtained from the following summary of diverse information from the mountain Orokaiva and the Aiga.

621 The people grouped under the names Isivita 1 and 2 and
Sasembata 1 and 2 numbered more than 1,600 in 1948 and occupied
614 44 villages. By the time of the eruption in 1951 the number of
villages had been reduced to 27 (see Plant 1951: Appendix 3) and
40 clans had branches in one or more of them - there were at least
17 clan branches in villages other than these, representing 6 of
the 40 clans. Eleven of the Isivita and Sasembata villages consisted only of members of 1 clan, although only 3 of these
villages constituted a whole clan.

Williams (1928:124; 1930:101) suggests that a periodic increase in the 'multiplicity of small clans', caused by subdivision,
is only 'in part neutralised by the dying out of older clans'. He
says that there is a marked consistency in clan organisation
throughout the Orokaiva area (1925:406)[1] and in 1923 the generalisation that 'local and lineal groups seem to be largely coincident'
[648] was true of the Jegasi-Sarahu, i.e., the Wasida group of villages
(W.10, 31). In this context he adds that this pattern was altered
[177] somewhat by the dispersal caused by a special factor: an attack by
the first government patrol on Wasida and neighbouring villages.
He does not record the relevant clan branches present in local
groups other than the 15 Jegasi-Sarahu villages of the tribe, but
5 of the 7 clans listed are seen to be represented in more than one
village. However, only 2 of the 15 villages contained 2 clan
[361] branches. The average village consisted of 6 houses (normally
nuclear families) and a single-boys' house (W.1), perhaps 25
people in all.

Data collected in 1924 among the Aiga show that there were 37 clans among the 50 villages of the tribe, with an average of about 35 members, or perhaps 'a dozen families', in each clan (Williams 1930:7, 101; 1925:418). Williams says that the 'normal', 'typical' or 'original' residential group was the 'clan-village' - clan and village were coextensive (1925:407; 1928:124; 1930:103, 310; and 107, 131) - but notes that in the larger villages there were 'often two clans or more' (1925:407). In fact, 12 of the 24 clans listed in 36 of the Aiga villages had 2 or more branches there (O.19, 20). Yet Williams might then have argued that in such instances fission would soon be completed and 'the normal conditions restored, viz. the clan locally unified and in

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[1] Cf. Reay 1953:110: Williams' information on the Aiga, Binandele and Tain Daware tribes reveals 'a social organization practically identical with that of the Wasida people'; see also Williams 1930:7.

621 possession of its own tracts of land' (1928:125). In view of the
uncertainties regarding attributes which, we have noted, Williams
614 associates with the 'clan', we can not readily say whether our
discussion in the following sections confirms or contradicts this
statement on land tenure.

Fighting within the tribe (*emboge*), though frequent,[1] was
614 governed by restrictive conventions absent from the conduct of
578 deliberate raids (*isoro*). Organized aggression was rare and the
deliberate destruction and homicide characteristic of the tribal
[721] raid were absent from the skirmishes which arose periodically in
the course of ordinary interclan relationships. Disagreement
over rights to land in the neighbourhood was one of a number of
causes of interclan hostilities (see Williams 1930:107, 163).
But we found no evidence from the area discussed in this report
to indicate that land disputes between members of different clans
involved the mobilization of their descent groups. Informants
[721] firmly denied that people would resort to attacking neighbours
from another clan in order to acquire land.

In presenting a picture of continuous feuding between local
[728] kin groups within the tribe, Keesing (1951:6) quotes Williams out
of context: Williams (1930:311; and 160-7) was referring to the
ineffectiveness of intertribal truces not to instability of
peaceful relationships between these smaller groups when he says
that no village lived in permanent security for fear of raids
from its neighbours. The tribe lacked close political cohesion
but relations between local groups within it do not seem to have
been as precarious as Keesing describes. As Plant (1951:
Appendix 3) indicates, a network of affiliations between descent
groups in widely scattered areas formerly ensured generaly peaceful relations within the tribe.

The frequency with which fragments of one clan are found
614 scattered in 3 or more districts of the tribe suggests that here
701 Langness' discussion of the Highlands (Watson, ed. 1964:174) may
be relevant when he points to the probability of a causal connec-
[182] tion between continuous violent warfare and the weakly patrilineal
structure of groups,[2] in view of the fact that most warring groups
needed continually to replace losses in numerical strength by
recruiting outsiders; they would repeatedly scatter, regroup, take
refuge or attach themselves permanently to stronger groups for

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[1] In fact, Williams (W.37) records that members of Jegase clan once fought some of the Sarahu, even though the names of the 2 clans were linked as the name of the political unit which he defined (see p.34).

[2] See sections c-f of this chapter.

614 701 safety. Plant for instance (1951:3) notes that the Isivita villages, strategically situated on a ridge, would occasionally give refuge to fellow tribesmen though not every district would usually have recourse to join the Isivita.

619 [614] [701] Williams ascribes the formation of 'somewhat loose' and temporary 'confederacies of clans', which conducted raids upon the tribe's kitoho, to a local spirit. But it is not clear whether by this he means the identification of members of a tribe with one territory or the unity of the 'locality group' which usually takes in a number of 'clan-village units' (see p.34) and which he describes as a more restricted 'sympathy-group' than the tribe (1930:107, 157, 163, 309-12). When he states (1925:407) that 'over and above clan patriarchs there are recognised leaders of small clan confederacies and even - in war-time - of tribes', he seems to equate the tribe with the district among the mountain Orokaiva (in particular Wasida and Isivita; see W.23, 124).[1]

[634] However, neither the district nor any other local grouping among the mountain Orokaiva was an independent political unit. The territory of this tribe was not so compact as to call for (or even to enable) all its constituent local groups to give continuous mutual support in protecting the integrity of the area they occupied. Nevertheless members of discrete local groups continually formed ad hoc alliances across district boundaries. It is clear that the regular chains of alliances encompassed a wider area than usually described as the tribe (whether Jegasi-Sarahu, Wasida or Periho).

721 The usual stratagem of the isoro was the surprise attack on 1 or 2 selected villages. In these circumstances the victims were able to summon only immediate neighbours to help ward off the attackers and proximity was at least one of the common principles by which specific villages combined in retaliatory raids.

621 361 An indication that within this tribe the named local groups of villages were territorially distinct units is Belshaw's statement that the population was divided into 'hamlet groups' like Awala 2,

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[721] [1] There is some doubt whether the evidence in these cases shows that there was even a military leadership in the district (and war is said to have been almost perpetual). The title of the former leader of Isivita (who had not been replaced) is given as embo javoari and the literal meaning is given (1930:104) as 'the man who gives the name' (cf. embo javo vahai, Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:17), i.e., the deceased eponymous ancestor of one clan. The last renowned war-leader among the Wasida may have been the embo peni (javo), lit. man-big (-name), of a group no larger than a village or clan (see 1925:417; W.23).

731 food from their abandoned gardens which they found in good
361 condition, apart from the uncontrolled growth of weeds.

No doubt minor adjustments in the distribution of land rights were made in the course of resettlement of the land around Sivepe when the people returned after a year's absence. But they would not have been faced with the major problems met with in the crowded resettlement areas with large numbers of immigrants. When the people of old Sivepe-Pamba returned from the evacuation camp they re-established their village on its old site.

613 It was not long, however, before the Timumu people became
361 involved in a protracted dispute with members of Kongahambo
[578] village (a new resettlement concentration near Sasembata), over
[177] garden damage caused by pigs, and in order to avoid more trouble they decided to move further away to build on their land at the present site of Sivepe village. The members of Berekipa and Arehu lineages and of Seho clan remained in the old village until a Patrol Officer asked them to reunite with the Timumu people. Since the Timumu were not keen to move back and since the occupants of the old village agreed with the Patrol Officer's assertion that it was poorly drained, these Jegase and Seho people moved to Sivepe in 1953. They were given permission to build by the Timumu lineage which owned most of the land on the site.

[754] Meanwhile the Bebehupa had returned after the eruption to Binduta where they lived with Usohu people for about 8 years. Then friction between the 2 groups became too great and, following accusations of sorcery, 4 Bebehupa households came to live on pockets of lineage land within the new Sivepe. Their houses are not aligned with those of the Jegase men who arrived earlier but the other 2 clan branches tend to occupy distinct sections of the village.[1]

●614 (iii) The distribution of other clan branches. One Jegase
361 clan branch lives several miles west of Sivepe in Hururuta village. Another group of Jegase splintered from the local branch of the clan after protracted disputes and settled at Kakendetta near Popondetta. The Sivepe people do not know how they acquired land rights there but insist that they voluntarily relinquished all their original rights. The clan is represented in Kiorota, Nahihita and Isoge; Plant (1951: Appendix 3) also reported that there were members of the clan in Kokitate and Pondohe.

A large branch of the clan now at Suin village is said to have moved down from the slopes onto unoccupied land which lay between

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[1] The houses of parent and 1 son or a married daughter are usually adjacent but those of additional children are often located elsewhere.

614 361 their previous location[1] and the territory of their traditional enemies, the Divinikovari and Togahau, but informants disagreed as to whether this occurred before or after Europeans had established control of the area.

Timumu clan had also originated well to the south near Sasembata (according to its members at Sivepe) but fairly early in the century part of this clan too occupied land around Soroputa nearer the Togahau. Other members of the clan live at Sasembata, Hamburata and Kakita and possibly other villages.

The ancestors of members of Seho clan in Sivepe are said to have moved to the nearby village of Hanimkambari from an area closer to the source of the Sohu River on Mt Lamington. While at Hanimkambari they clashed with the first government patrols in the area. About 1910 some of the Seho people established another village, Asina, nearer the present site of Sivepe, later moving to join Timumu and Jegase groups at Euru. These old villages have now been abandoned but Seho clan is represented in numerous other villages in the area.

c. Localized descent groups

621 Our comments on the clan and village have emphasized that the typical village consists of several groups from different clans. Migrations also have usually been by representatives of particular groups. We now turn to an account of the individual's kinship and affinal relationships within the village. This aspect is best approached with an examination of post-marital residence.

591 (i) Residence. Post-marital residence is ideally patrivirilocal. But where residence is found to conform to the ideal, any reference to this norm should be supplemented by further data on the links between co-resident kin if we are to give an adequate account of the kinship composition of local groups; moreover, adults have a wide choice of residence. In fact, of the 12 householders in our sample, 5 were not living in their father's village, although 1 of these was living with his adoptive father (his mother's second husband who was a member of her natal village); the other 4 were living only with matrilateral or affinal kin, or both in one of these instances.

It is significant that only 1 of the 7 men remaining had established his household in a village to which he was affiliated

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[1] This location may not in fact have been near Sivepe. It may have been Ombisusu (near the pre-contact village of Wasida) which Williams (W.10) says Jegase people abandoned to establish Suin after the arrival of the government. This may have involved a move down the slopes.

591 only through his father and even in this case his sister, her children and his daughter subsequently married in the village so he is now also living with other cognates and with affines. The 6 other men are living in the same village as their father's kin, but for 4 of them this is also their wife's home village, for another it is also his mother's village and the last man is co-resident with patrilineal, matrilateral and affinal kin simultaneously. In several cases certain people fall into more than one of these kinship categories in relation to 1 person. Six householders have sisters who have married within the village.[1]

In view of the fact that such a variety of relationships is found in this group, Hogbin's and Wedgwood's outline of Orokaiva local grouping, which is based on secondary sources, does not seem relevant to present day social organization in this neighbourhood. They regard the Orokaiva as patrivirilocal[2] (1952-4:64 ff.) and suggest that the parish or local political unit is an exogamous patrilineal group whose members were strongly united and unready to assimilate outsiders. Like Williams (1930:131-3) they mention frequent exceptions to this rule of post-marital residence yet seem to underestimate the degree of variability in the composition of the village and to overemphasize the solidarity of the unilineal group and the importance of the preference for patrivirilocal residence and of exogamy in localized patrilineal groups.[3]

Williams on the other hand says 'the Orokaiva organization very nearly approaches a bilateral system, though in theory it is [582] patrilineal' (1925:407) and points to 'the laxity of marriage regulations'. Even in the small Aiga clan 'exogamy is not a hard [614] and fast rule'; preference for intraclan marriage is sometimes expressed (1930:131-2). It may be thought a 'proper thing to keep the women in the village' - which Williams here implicitly equates with clan - 'in the hope of building up its population' (1925:408).

621 A striking proportion of marriages are contracted between members of groups in close proximity. Data available for 35 marriages contracted over 3 genealogical generations by the householders of our sample, or by their parents, siblings or children, show that in 22 cases 1 spouse came either from the

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[1] Four instances of brother-sister exchange marriage among members of Sivepe were recorded (i.e., 8 marriages).

[2] Williams (1930:131) uses the term 'patrilocal'.

[3] The local organization in this neighbourhood seems closer to the category of 'osculant multicarpellary parishes' than any other (see also Hogbin 1963:32). However, we believe that the abstraction, if legitimate now is not the most informative.

621 current village of the other or from a village within a mile of it, in 11 cases from within a radius of approximately 3 miles of it (in fact an area only slightly larger than the 'neighbourhood'), while 2 spouses came from outside the tribe. Williams (1930:131-3) speaks of 'a certain degree of local endogamy'. The Aiga village '(in which there may be several clans)...cannot be called exogamous even in theory'.

Belshaw too (1951:15) pointed out that marriage is usually between people whose parents do not live far apart. For this reason he warned that amalgamation of nearby 'hamlets' after the eruption might increase tension between groups linked by marriage. [602] But relationships between affines in Sivepe appeared to be generally close and behaviour relatively informal and friendly when compared with other areas (e.g., Inonda).

621 606 [578] Perhaps there is a similar contrast with former practice (see Williams, ibid:106, 114, 128, 131). However, in 1924 in a third area (the Ope or Aiga), the village, consisting as it might of intermarrying clans, was quite free from 'quarrels and ill-feeling' (Williams, ibid:315) and, moreover, it is 'not unusual' for a man to divide his time quite comfortably 'between the villages of his wife's people and his own' with the result that 'the relation between the father's people and the mother's people is, in practice, so friendly and intimate, that the child associates himself almost as readily with the latter as with the former' - 'so close is the intimacy between the two branches of the united family' (1925:407-8, 410).

166 Individuals freely and frequently change their village of residence, whereas the villages are enduring units. During the years 1957-61 the population of Sivepe and Binduta together averaged 165: there were in the same time no less than 113 movements of individuals into or out of this couple of villages and, according to data collected by ourselves, at least 13 between the 2 villages. The government census statistics reveal neither the cause, exact destination nor frequency of movement by an individual nor are his age or marital status recorded.[1]

614 613 (ii) Formal features of the local patrilineal groups. In discussing the local disposition of clans, we have already taken 'clan branch' to denote the representatives of the clan living in one village. We retain the term not only for the Timumu group but also for the members of the 4 Jegase lineages living at Sivepe, even though these villagers do not constitute a group of co-resident agnates with functions to mark it as a distinctive unit within the

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[1] Thus the figures do not differentiate between adults and children (see McArthur 1956:324-36).

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wider grouping of Jegase clansmen in the neighbourhood, which we describe as the 'dispersed clan branch'. This consists of the reputed descendants of Jegase men said to have once occupied together the settlement Simbehata-Totogata on the territory since associated with the group. It now has its largest single nucleus at Sivepe but includes also the Bebehupa men scattered in other villages, who recently separated from other members of the lineage now at Sivepe.[1]

Several writers have described one order or another of localized patrilineal groups in this census division as lineages (Belshaw 1951:2; Reay 1953:115; Morton 1962:3); in calling the Sivepe groups lineages, we have maintained some consistency with the terminology used for their formal counterparts in the survey at Inonda.[2]

Each lineage in our sample at Sivepe retains a name said to have been transmitted from some remote patrilineal ancestor and each shares a distinctive plant emblem, erahu, associated with its identity as an agnatic group (see Appendix D).~~[2]~~ Williams (1925:410) notes that the erahu of matrilateral kin is used by householders to mark their distinctive personal identity within their patrilineal group.

The adult male membership of lineages represented in the sample, excluding absentees who have moved from the neighbourhood, ranges from 1 (Arehu lineage) to 9 in the case of the Bebehupa members of the dispersed clan branch. Members of each group trace precise genealogical relationships to one another. All the Bebehupa men with one possible exception can do so. Genealogical memory is short. Ancestry can be traced back to men of the generation of

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[1] We should emphasize that the 'clan branch' and 'dispersed clan branch' are not groups at different levels of a hierarchical lineage structure and that the distinction is a device for discussing the Jegase groups in question.

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[2] At Sivepe we found that the use of the term ahije (or haije) was not restricted to reference to the founder of a lineage as at Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:17). Any members of Jegase clan are called Jegasetahije and the founder of the clan is also their ahije. Moreover, the term may be used in another sense both to refer to any of ego's male cognatic ancestors or to denote any (or all) of a man's immediate cognatic descendants. Similarly epihe, said by Morton to refer to a lineage seems to be used rather for ego's maternal uncle or grandfather, paternal grandfather, etc., epimane (pl.) being a term for a number of these kinsmen, not for a number of lineages or a clan. Unlike ahije, this term is not used for descending generations too.

A, [See Category 613, p. 110--Analyst]

613 the father's father of the oldest members of the dispersed clan
branch but the specific kinship relationships between these
614 ancestors are forgotten.

The Jegase people do not name a putative founder of the dispersed clan branch. Nor do they assume that the eponymous ancestors of its subgroups were brothers. The single site of settlement of the ancestors of Jegase men in this neighbourhood is their only recognized evidence of common origin. But this focus of their common identity still offsets the more recent attenuation of intra-group relationships owing to dispersal. The lineages emerge as contrasted co-ordinate group-segments because their histories have diverged since they jointly occupied one territorial centre. There is no fiction of opposition between segments in genealogical terms.

Informants sometimes indicated a sense in which certain lineages are considered closer to each other than to the rest of the dispersed clan branch. This type of alignment seemed to be associated with a joint historical identification of these lineages with a part of their group's territory. It is possible that this in turn is due to a closer patrilineal connection now forgotten, but the people do not venture on this type of explanation.

(iii) Authority and land control in the descent group.
Anthropologists have remarked on the indeterminate system of
leadership in Orokaiva villages and descent groups and the lack
of formal sanctions for authority, and government officials have
found that continued lack of emerging leaders impedes the planning
[622] of local government and village reforms. Williams discusses the
'absence of central authority' (1930:325) and the 'entire lack of
any ceremony of chieftainship' (W.23): he points out (1930:104)
that the titles for 'big men' (_embo pani_, _embo dombo_) imply only
that they are 'men of importance who cannot claim to be leaders'.

[888] There was however, a recognized ascendancy of old men. The
'leader and ruler of any clan' was said to be the eldest of its
men provided he was equal to the minimal requirements of the
position and 'only in the larger clans, where there are well-defined family groups, does the question of hereditary succession
appear, and then it is a somewhat faint appearance' (1928:125) -
but only if the large clans are localized, for he says that where
'the clan is scattered, there is no single leadership' (1925:407).
[622] On the other hand Reay (1953:115) says that 'the _embo kiti_, whom
F.E. Williams called a "clan headman", but who is really more of a
village headman whose position is hereditary within a certain
lineage of the clan, has a limited authority which is backed by no
sanctions' (_embo kiti_: first man).

624 Residential units created for administrative purposes seldom had a single focus of allegiance. In the case of Sivepe, the officials appointed by the government in seperate villages were thrown together in one village and were later replaced by the local government councillor.

In the mixed post-eruption settlements too, Keesing (1951:9-11) noted conflicting authority between men of different descent groups. Leadership had to be bureaucratically imposed and 'there were no signs of a self-motivated [political] superstructure taking form other than the strengthening of scattered clan ties'.

613 554 Varying definitions have been given of corporate descent groups whose representatives might be said to have legitimate control of land among the mountain Orokaiva: Norton (1962:2-7) describes the embo dombo as a man 'who by virtue of being the senior member of a lineage and by having a superior knowledge of land matters, is regarded as the chief authority in the lineage', and says that the composition of the land controlling group varies from 1 or a number of lineages within the clan to the entire clan. [614] There are said to be as many embo dombo in a landholding group as there are lineages yet he later maintains that

> in each 'clan' a male member, by virtue of his age, his seniority in a descent group and knowledge of the land, has a recognized authority over any matters affecting the activities of the clan of which he is a member and particularly on land affairs. There may be one such man in a 'clan' or a number and he is known as the Embo Dombo.

Norton suggests that every male member of the controlling group is an enda mamo (master of the land), and that the term has sometimes been incorrectly identified with a 'chief land holder'.

Belshaw (1951:2-3) states that the 'minor lineage', constituting all or part of a 'hamlet', shares land and works it together. But particular members 'through their slightly different relationship connections sometimes have senior claims to different areas of land' and a member is enda mamo only insofar as the group is currently cultivating the land to which he has senior claim.

624 614 Plant (1951: Appendix 2) diverges more from Norton's definition of enda mamo saying that there is one man with this title who is guardian and administrator of land, which is vested in the clan. Although these powers in land matters are more continuous and wider in scope than Belshaw maintains, Plant explicitly distinguishes them from the status of embo (pemi) dombo (clan headman). He narrows them further to residual rights to make decisions, in council with clan members, on important matters concerning any of the areas which sections (or segments) of the clan in different

624 villages and individual members of these groups have come to
614 regard as their own, since 'usage tacitly becomes ownership'.[1]

Norton's use of enda memo seems the most accurate whereas we would accept as valid for groups of any order Plant's separation of the status of embo dombo from that of a 'chief land controller' (or of any man with an authoritative local and historical knowledge of land). But we found no evidence to indicate that any person at Sivepe exercises rights to the land associated with either of the 3 clan branches, such as the landrights Plant and Belshaw attribute to the enda memo or Norton attributes to the embo dombo.

[425] [428] Among our recorded cases of land falling without direct lineal heirs, none seems to show that a person such as an embo dombo acquires it by exercising reversionary rights on behalf of the wider agnatic group.

Just as the function of a descent group of given dimension or local organisation is specific to a time and place, the way control over land has devolved among its constituent units closely defines the role of the member (or members) with most influence in issues concerning land, whatever powers he happens to exercise in other connections. The nominal leader of the dispersed branch of Jegase clan is the local government councillor: an assertive middle-aged man, he is senior by any reckoning to other active members of Bebehupa lineage. He has more land than any other Jegase man in the neighbourhood. Nevertheless the scope of his authority in land matters affecting other Jegase men is severely restricted in that the interdependent Arehu and Berekipa lineages have been completely independent of others in the control of their land for the past 50 years.

613 624 [554] [614] He retains prestige and influence in many matters of concern to his own lineage. He can claim prominence among more close agnates than a leading man of any other lineage in our sample, even though the Bebehupa have now dispersed from Binduta to Garombi, Nahihita, Kakita, Awala and Sivepe. They now say it is their responsibility as embo bajari (protector or sometimes a co-parcener, especially one responsible for controlling holdings of other heirs) to look after particular parcels of lineage land near these villages.

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[1] Ibid., quoting Williams (1928:125), who is referring to 'sections' (alternatively 'branches' and 'families'). See Norton (1962:8): the tacit permission of the clan for individuals and their descendants to use a vaguely demarcated area is not a 'permanent or ultimate authority vested in the individual by the passage of time.... This in no way grants the man or his successors ownership rights in it' (ibid.:9).

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Actually no power has been delegated by the leader of their lineage. They are de facto custodians to the extent that circumstances had forced them to leave their original village and each selected a place to settle convenient to one of the areas where he could exercise individual rights to patrimonial or other land. They could at the same time protect the interests of other members with landholdings nearby. Although they refer to this trust as Bebehupa land, the reciprocal obligations seem to have followed on a mutual agreement reached by particular individuals.

It is however in this group that the councillor still expects to exert most influence in the discussion of general affairs. Within it he has a recognized standing as the largest landholder. On this account his opinion and knowledge of the locality are respected also by Jegase men of other lineages. Besides, they share many boundaries with other Bebehupa men and with members of Binduta and Awala villages among whom he could conveniently serve as a representative of their interests, having closer ties with these villages than they.

Otherwise his powers outside the affairs of the dispersed Jegase lineage are related to his position as councillor. He and another councillor were elected by Sivepe, Binduta and Awala villagers before he left Binduta and attached himself to Sivepe. In this capacity he receives no more support from other Jegase men in Sivepe than from the rest of the village. In 1963 a young man of another Jegase lineage there, with considerable support from voters within Sivepe, was a rival candidate for councillor for the 3 villages but was unsuccessful.

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We have so far discussed only the powers of Bebehupa men, either in their lineage or in the clan branch. The other Jegase men enjoy rights of land control which are even more limited. The proprietary rights now held by each householder of the Berekipa-Arehu part of the clan branch were acquired by him independently of the others. Although there is frequent interchange of planting rights and consequent discussion among them as to the allocation of their resources none of the 4 could claim of right an equal voice in the control of the others' land. Again, each of the 2 Timumu lineages had settled independently in the neighbourhood of Sivepe by acquiring land from sources inaccessible to the other.

Associated with the weakness of central control over land of smaller groups on clan branch territory is the complete freedom each landholder has in granting usufructuary rights, provided due consideration is given to the anticipated physical needs of any joint heir (i.e., a sibling) or of any dependents for whom he is responsible. Each thus maintains relationships with other

613 It is characteristic of the lineage that some mutual consideration is given by its members to each other's immediate expectations. This would appear consistent with the fact that it is only within the lineage that there is mutual anticipation among agnates that their land is the assured and exclusive patrimony of junior members.

Even members of a lineage with no single local nucleus in neighbourhood villages may be more closely associated in the tenure of land than are a large number of agnates living in one village but representing several different lineages. The Sivepe Bebehupa hold contiguous subdivisions of far fewer blocks of land with their co-resident agnates than they share with Bebehupa members living elsewhere, but considerably more than the Bebehupa outside Sivepe share with the other lineages. The dispersed Bebehupa claim that their members recognize certain exclusive though minor land rights and obligations (see p.55-6).

The members of a lineage do not trace an exact relationship with the group's founder but they attempt to reckon descent from the ancestor who is believed to have established their rights to lineage land. These rights were established in various ways.

The Bebehupa assert that the ancestors they are able to name acquired by right of original settlement the large share of Jegase territory occupied continuously by their descendants. On the other hand, when the Berekipa and Arehu tell of ways an ancestor gained control of parcels they now hold, the only common element which emerges is acquisition by reactivating rights once held by patrilineal ancestors.

614 No land is shared by the clan branch as a whole. With no significant areas of rainforest[1] or grassland in the area, all land has been claimed long ago as gardening land by lineages of various clans. There are considerable differences in the land areas available per head of population to the representatives of each age and their dependents in our sample. These areas are:

Bebehupa (18 persons), 64.1 acres, 3.6 acres per head)
Arehu (3 persons), 14.9 acres, 5.0 acres per head) Jegase
Berekipa (12 persons), 12.7 acres, 1.1 acres per head)
Sasewopa (1 person, not included in sample) 3.8 acres)

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[1] The large area north of Sivepe covered by rainforest in 1953 (see Map 1)[A] is land held by Soroputa villagers. Before Mt Lamington erupted, there were only 3 small villages (Soroputajajemo, Togorisusu and Handarisusu) in the area between Sivepe and Agenahambo. These 3 villages of the Soroputa 'district' were in 1953 almost certainly still at the post-eruption settlement named Soroputa. Most immigrants to this village had not decided to return to their land nearer the volcano by 1956.

A,[See Category 102, p.5--Analyst]

614 Pekuma (9 persons), 28.2 acres, 3.1 acres per head) Timumu
Hajejopa (8 persons), 18.1 acres, 2.3 acres per head)

(If Jegase and Timumu are each taken as a whole, either unit has 2.7 acres per head.)

425 From data recorded for 104 parcels of land held by the Jegase and Timumu at some time over the past 2 generations we discovered 8 instances of transfers (involving 30 parcels) where the land had passed from the original holder to one of his co-resident kinsmen in another lineage or clan. There may well have been more, earlier examples of such transfers. If so they have been forgotten by the people who can conveniently treat all previous occasions when their land changed hands as instances of patrilineal inheritance.

614 423 Three members of these clan branches stated that they intended to transmit a total of 12 parcels to members of other clans (see Appendix E, pp.111-17).[A] Two other members intended to pass 5 to their adopted sons and 3 more parcels were to be inherited by an illegitimate child from his mother (see Appendix E, p.112).[B] One widower has nominated his sister's son as heir to his parcels of land and claimed that his sister's son could also receive his brother's land, allegedly forfeited through long and continued absence (see Appendix E, pp.112-13).[C] One man said he would leave 8 parcels to members of his adoptive group and the 5 inherited by his wife would pass to a person of the same group, a different genealogical branch of her lineage (see pp.60-1).[D]

Land rights of various kinds are acquired and maintained as a function of one's relationships with any of a number of groups. Most proprietary rights are acquired within the range of sources provided by patrilineal and matrilateral kin and other cognates and affines but adoptees may also acquire proprietary rights within landholding groups. In most cases noted where a man had been adopted by a member of his own or a nearby village he had continued to exercise in full his rights to the land of his natal group.

597 727 425 In former times it was not uncommon for a successful warrior to bring back the son of a victim he had killed during an intertribal raid. The child would be brought up as a full member of the adoptive group and would acquire land rights there. (Any newcomers' descendants, such as the Arehu lineage, may be absorbed into a narrow adoptive group of agnates while they are incorporated only marginally into the wider descent group.)

597 There are frequent instances of temporary foster relationships at Sivepe. Although a man who adopts a local child sometimes acts only as a foster father without needing to grant land rights, an adoptee needs neither to be destitute nor to relinquish any

A, [See Category 428, pp. 111-117--Analyst] B, [See Category 428, p. 112--Analyst]

C, [See Category 428, pp. 112-113--Analyst] D, [See Category 597, p. 60--Analyst]

597 rights he has already received from his natal group before he may acquire proprietary rights and become a permanent member of the adoptive group. He may transmit the former rights to his sons, themselves full members of the new group.

[425] As long as he stays with this group and land is not in short supply he may inherit an equal share with his adoptive father's children. All rights are relinquished if he returns permanently to his natal group. If the land held by the adoptive group is scarce and extensively used by its members, he may become a permanent member of this group without acquiring rights to its land, especially if he was not previously related to the group or if he has access to other land.

An adoptee can continue to exercise his rights to land of his father if it is nearby but it may be difficult for him to retain land which is too far away to cultivate often and, unless he has close kin there protecting his interests, his rights and group identification tend to be contested.

The way rights are established by adoption, as with rights acquired by other processes, cannot be predicted far in advance for the actual rearrangment of proprietary rights in any particular case will be determined by the current relations between the parties involved.

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By way of example, one man born into Ato clan is living with his wife's lineage, Bebehupa (of Jegase clan). He has no other close kin and Awala is the nearest place of residence of any member of his natal clan; he is widely and consistently spoken of as a Jegase man (d6J). When his father, a member of Heherita village, was accidentally killed when trying to mediate in a violent dispute between his clansmen and Jegase people, his mother married a man of Arehu lineage. He was never given rights to plant on his foster father's land because it was under heavy use but he inherited some land near the Jegase holdings from his father. His wife also inherited land from her father, a Bebehupa man, who had no sons or brothers, and he has sometimes cultivated that.

However, due to serious illness, he is not active in the social and political affairs of his foster father's and affines' local descent group. As he is in a dependent and marginal social position and can use land of his own, his intermittent efforts to cultivate the Bebehupa land are not warmly welcomed by the leader of this lineage, regardless of the stated intentions of both the adoptee and his wife, a childless couple, to pass the land which each inherited to the sons of the Bebehupa leader.

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In practice there are no land rights and obligations which the different Jegase lineages recognize toward each other as members

613 of the dispersed clan branch and the only effective rights held in
614 common by the Jegase members of Sivepe are those shared by members
of the village as a whole (see p.22). A

[423] In land matters, as in other affairs, the closeness of personal ties between specific individuals in the Jegase group is usually of more account than shared membership of the dispersed clan branch - whether or not these interpersonal connections are agnatic: the dispersed clan branch is not exogamous and no preference is expressed for marrying out. In fact the 3 lineages, Bebehupa, Arehu and Berekipa, have been linked by several marriages in recent generations. In many circumstances the resulting network of cognatic and affinal ties is more important than lineal ties in determining what decisions are made or what action is taken.[1]

When the land of another local lineage of the clan is used for gardening, the usufructuary rights are granted and exercised more often because the landholder and gardener have a personal kinship relationship than because they are neighbouring clansmen.

614 The web of interpersonal kinship is, of course, not confined to the local agnatic group but pervades relationships between the clan branches in this and other villages in the neighbourhood, as indicated by the data on the range of Sivepe marriages and on the complex ties which either spouse (or both) is often found to have in the village where the couple reside. For several decades a constantly changing network of cognatic and affinal ties has linked members of a number of kin groups who have continually grouped and regrouped themselves as local units like Sivepe and its forerunners.

[613] The dispersed clan branch is a significant reference group in land matters even though it has no land held in common by all members. Responses to initial enquiries about land rights of members of patrilineal groups always indicated that the Jegase lineages together in some contexts consider themselves to be one unit which is distinguished from the branches of other clans represented in Sivepe and other villages. It is not easy to discern the real interests which this response reflects.

The dispersed branch of a clan is the most enduring group which is acknowledged by all to be associated with a particular territory; a person's affiliation to this group is the standard rationale of his presence in the village and neighbourhood in which he lives and works. Ultimately the general basis for the tenure by any group within the dispersed clan branch, of its own share of land

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[1] We noticed that the importance of non-agnatic ties is sometimes reflected in choices in the use of kinship terms.

A,[See Category 423, p.22--Analysis]

614 is the claim, however well founded, that this was part of the
local ancestral land of men of their own clan.

The affirmation of the common territorial interest of the group of Jegase clansmen in the neighbourhood would occur only when we were proceeding with a series of enquiries both into the boundaries of the scattered parcels held by smaller groups or by individuals and into the source of their rights. This suggested that, in view of the frequency of individual transfer of parcels of land among non-agnates, the explicit assertion of the unity of the enduring group and its territory may be an ex post facto argument. This is both an affirmation of common grounds for legitimate land claims of individuals and lineages, irrespective of the actual origin of their rights, and also the most decisive means of differentiating clearly one parcel of land from adjacent holdings of members of other clans.

The appearance of a patrilineal ideology in this context might
be expected of members of a loose-knit descent group with a
territory interspersed with territories of other members of the
local community in which an elaborate network of non-agnatic and
571 affinal ties plays an important part in each individual's life.
It is by virtue of such interpersonal ties, hardly less than by
602 shared membership of a local patrilineal group, that close face-
to-face contacts and bonds of friendship are maintained, mutual
[425] assistance is offered, temporary rights to land are exchanged and,
[428] by these means, claims to inherit land are established in many
circumstances.

d. Patterns of landholdings

614 There are 60 blocks altogether which are either wholly or
partly made up by one or more of the parcels held by the sample A
(138 acres in all). In general each block is held by members of
a single clan branch but 3 are divided so men of each of the 2
sample groups hold sections. In other instances members of
different clans and of other villages hold a contiguous section
[613] of the named area but these were not measured. Eleven blocks were
subdivided between 2 lineages of the same clan and just on half
the total number of blocks contain internal boundaries between
different householders in the lineage. No 2 householders are
regularly associated with one another in the holding of rights in
[613] the subdivided blocks.[1] The distribution of these and other
parcels of the lineage land among its members is almost random.

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[1] In one instance 2 men (who are brothers) held adjacent sections of several blocks but these sections represent only a small proportion (by area or number of parcels) of the landholdings of either man.

A,[See Category 601, p. 52--Analyst]

● 614 For example the sons of 3 brothers, A, B and C (see d10J, and d9 and d8 on genealogy)[A] together with another classificatory brother D (d12J) between them shared rights to at least 13 blocks of Bebehupa land. A and C held 1 block, A and B held 3, A and D held 2, A, B and C held 2, A, B and D held 2, A, C and D held 2, and A, B, C and D all held sections of 1. Data on B's and C's land were collected incidentally since they were not included in the sample and they may have other blocks which they share. D has other blocks some of which are shared with other people. The sections held by any one of these 4 men do not form significant patterns of contiguous holdings or even distinct patterns separated from the land of another of the 4. The spatial distribution of his sections reflects only the general distribution of the land of the Bebehupa in relation to land of other descent groups. Nor are the sections allocated among the 4 men according to soil types.

The arrangements for dividing the land between brothers are associated with the fragmentation of land held by individuals and groups. Informants could not account in any detail for the complex pattern of the distribution of parcels of land among different groups or even among a few householders of one lineage but would cite the practice, perhaps adopted by members of successive generations, that a man with a number of sons would divide his larger blocks of land and distribute the sections and other smaller [425] parcels among them as convenient.[1] A sequence of transfers of even a few of these small parcels between kinsmen not of the same lineage, is a further process which, although informants did not suggest the possibility, would readily produce fragmentation of holdings of descent groups; we came across no instances where reciprocal transfers were effected in order to consolidate either areas of land held by individuals or territories of groups.[2]

There is extensive interpenetration of the landholdings of clan branches in the neighbourhood. The largest continuous area of Jegase land is centred around the abandoned sites of previous settlement, particularly Simbehata and Pusahambo where most of their ancestors lived earlier in the century. Members of this

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[1] Two brothers in our sample each claimed a particular number of the father's blocks and sections for himself whereas they held joint rights in other blocks which could be passed on to their sons. However, we could not establish the reason for this distinction.

[2] We know of 1 man (d9) whose share in an inheritance of land from a distant clansman and maternal kinsman (see Appendix E, p.111)[B] was organised so that the parcels he received were those which his clansman had held adjacent to his (the beneficiary's) own patrimonial land.

A,[See Category 601, p.52--Analyst] B,[See Category 428, p.111--Analyst]

614 clan branch claim that in the years before contact Jegase men extended their control over areas of land northward from this area toward the territory of the hostile Togahau and Divinikovari. They claim that this expansion was restricted by pressure from enemies but it is difficult to determine how often open conflicts preceded settlement in these outlying areas or how much it was limited rather by expansion of descent groups within the tribe or of other local groups.

The pattern of fragmented landholdings of local clan branches is said to be due to the fact that members of allied clans would move into an area of unoccupied land about the same time to clear contiguous areas. Any descent group which later found its holding no longer adequate for immediate needs and wished to open up new land would often find the surrounding land already settled and would move to the edge of the area so far appropriated as gardening land by the members of these groups. The explanation sometimes given for the existence of an enclave of one clan branch's land within another's is that a Jegase man, for instance, had lived with the Seho people holding the larger area and had cleared virgin land near them.

[476] The men exploiting new land often worked in association with some of their co-resident clansmen but the apparent lack of regular co-operation between members of patrilineal groups larger than the expanded family in opening up unoccupied land may account for some of the present scattering of clan branch land or even of the areas occupied by separate branches of 1 clan.[1]

[425] Informants stated that the initiative in establishing rights to previously unoccupied land was taken by individual cultivators and that the land which they acquired was retained by their lineal descendants.

[613] Some people suggested in answer to our questions that subdivision and further fragmentation of areas of Jegase territory, now identified with one or other of the lineages, occurred where large numbers in successive generations settled within, and made more extensive use of, one after another of the areas where an ancestor had been first to claim land or had at some stage effectively occupied it.

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[1] Norton (1962:6) gives a similar explanation of fragmentation and suggests that it occurred more often after the extension of administration control when the co-operation between members of separate clans formerly residing together for mutual protection was carried over into the activity of opening up areas further afield from their village.

62 [36] [72] facilitated the type of local movements that we noted occurred in the neighbourhood of Sivepe. However at times[1] the density 'on the ground' of villages of the standard size found in the other Orokaiva tribes may be misconstrued as a state of advanced fragmentation of settlement.

It should be noted that the limited amount of relevant detail on the areas where Williams worked[2] fails to indicate a significant difference in size between the Aiga village averaging 26 people at that time, and the Wasida village, with about 6 houses and a single-boys' house.

166 [65] [614] The Sivepe people have moved only singly or in small groups except when villages have been directed to amalgamate by the Administration. The villagers say that, except when they were evacuated to Ilimo refugee camp, they have never been forced to move from the area which had been held by their ancestors, or to rely on outside groups for access to land. Our evidence indicates that, except for limited expansion into unoccupied land early in the century, all the major shifts of residence of the sample clan branches have been confined to their own territory.

[425] [614] People who have moved to take up rights in other land have done so by exploiting personal ties of kinship or affinity. We found no instances of overlapping land claims at the clan or local branch level such as are found in other areas of Orokaiva territory where enough land was available for whole clans to move the location of their settlement some distance to unused land of a friendly group.

621 Belshaw (1951:3) observed that in the years preceding the Mt Lamington eruption

> there was much feeling among Government officers that the relatively poor houses of the district, and the small hamlets, should give way to new villages built on the 'Kokoda' pattern, that is a line of substantial houses built around a grassy village square.

[178] [166] The people tended to resist this change, but they had made some moves to amalgamate 'hamlets' (see p.34). He noted also that there was much movement between villages, and that it usually involved a man's leaving his father's land to live on that of his mother or his wife.

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[1] For instance, when the densely populated area stretching from Isivita to Isoge and Awala villages struck the writer of one generally observant report as 'literally a mass of small hamlets' some of them with no more than 20 members.

[2] See Williams 1930:7; W.1.

241 171 361 With the passage of the cultivation cycle over a Chimbu subclan's territory, gardeners move from one men's house to another, either as a persisting group of agnates working contiguous holdings, or as individuals joining more transient groups which are dissolved as gardens near the house revert to fallow (ibid:98; Brown and Brookfield 1959:68). As they extended their cultivation to other areas, 37 per cent of a sample of 193 men had moved from one men's house to another over a period of 16 months (Brookfield and Brown 1963:98) and the men's houses themselves last no longer than 5 years (ibid:12).

241 In Sivepe on the other hand, gardens tend to be scattered and isolated. Father and son often have adjacent plots in one garden area but the son usually has at least 1 other garden elsewhere. A young married man often has 1 garden on the land of his wife's father, whom he will periodically assist in his garden. Older men in general adopt the technique of progressively planting and clearing a single large area while younger and more active men, usually with more obligations to affines, tend to cultivate several scattered smaller plots.

[621] [602] There is no local group or extended kinship group which commonly combines to make a block of contiguous gardens. Even when all members of the village plant simultaneously for a special feast, the gardens are not adjacent. A man usually takes advantage of the choice of exercising planting rights on the land of a wide range of kinsmen (not necessarily his agnates), both those within the village and to a lesser extent kinsmen from other villages. Several had current gardens on their mother's brother's land, some on the nearby land of their wife's brother, sister's husband or daughter's husband.

613 614 184 In other Orokaiva areas (such as Inonda) gardeners of one lineage often have a reciprocal arrangement with another lineage of the same clan in the village to cultivate a parcel of their land with them, but this is not a common practice at Sivepe. In the few cases where several kinsmen have made adjacent gardens the gardeners are mostly cognatic kin from different clans or villages and each will probably make his next garden with different kin or on an isolated parcel.

166 171 425 Encroachment on boundaries is feared[1] but does not seem to result in repeated changes of residence as it does among the

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[578] [1] The 3 instances of boundary disputes recorded were between Bebehupa and Usohu people. According to the older men the Usohu were formerly a Jegase group and they share many boundaries with the Bebehupa; the recent split in Binduta between the 2 groups has been accompanied by friction over a number of issues including the definition of boundaries.

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Table 5

Rights to land currently cultivated by the sample

Nature of planter's rights to the land currently gardened	No. of gardens	Area of gardens (acres)	
1. Planter is a member of lineage holding proprietary rights	15	9.17	
2. Member of a different lineage but same clan branch	5	2.57	
On land of planter or co-resident agnate			11.74
3. Member of a different clan within the same village	10	4.49	
4. Member of another branch of the same clan	1	0.10	
5. Member of a different clan and village	3	1.51	
On land of others			6.10
	34		17.84

Notes: 1. Of the 5 members of other clans or villages who were using the sample's land, 2 were using the land of their mother's brother's sons, 1 the land of his sister's son and 2 the land of members of their dispersed clan branch in a village other than their own.

2. For rights to land carrying cash-crops see Ch.4, Section c. and Ch.5, Section b.[A]

166 Chimbu or to influence the choice of a garden site; a Sivepe man
171 shares land boundaries with many gardeners but his prescriptive rights to his holdings are not so constantly jeopardized if he
425 fails to cultivate his land while neighbours are using adjacent areas (see Brown and Brookfield 1959:25).

Moreover with short periods between successive cultivations and with necessarily extensive total areas used for cultivation a man claims to be able to fix boundaries on fallow land in some detail. These are either demarcated by large trees or shrubs at fixed points or coincide with the courses of the numerous creeks or with
[614] roads. The boundaries common to members of different clan branches appear to be neither more nor less clear than those shared by smaller groups.

A,[See Category 245, pp. 83-86; Category 248, pp. 87-93; Category 423, pp. 95-98--Analyst]

425 f. Local organisation and land transfers

(i) Land use. The use of land is necessary in two senses to validate a land claim among these Orokaiva. Usage is an important factor in determining the extent to which land is identified with the component units of the group which claims to hold land (cf. Williams 1928:125 and Plant 1951: Appendix 2).

425 184 Four factors have produced a closer identification between a household and the patrimonial land it cultivates than in some other Orokaiva areas: first, the frequency with which an adopted member retains and transmits to his own descendants land which he acquired from his natal group; second, the limited supply of land; third, continual use by people of the lineage land used by and inherited from their fathers, in that no special access to land of other lineages of the clan branch is accorded to them simply as a group of co-resident agnates; and fourth, a fertile soil which allows a short fallow cycle after single plantings of a predominant soil-exhausting crop.

613 428 [848] It has been common practice for distinct genealogical branches within the lineage to exercise continuous and exclusive rights to separate areas of lineage land. The small group within which these prescriptive rights are exercised and transmitted does not easily endure demographic changes and if there are no surviving male members, the rights it exercised may in certain circumstances devolve on a female member, for instance, and subsequently to her son, even if he is illegitimate, or perhaps a claim of a relatively close agnate will be overridden in favour of a distant clansman, with or without other cognatic ties to the group. When these rights are transmitted outside the direct male line, residence and land use are important as factors which influence the definition of the rights of the beneficiary vis-a-vis surviving members of the wider patrilineal group. As noted above the scope of the authority of members of the wider group in questions of land tends to have been limited by the frequent independent movement of the smaller units.

425 [606] [614] Our descriptions of the kinship composition of the village and neighbourhood and of the social elements of land use indicate that it is common to find men living and gardening in the same village or neighbourhood as their mother's or wife's kin and that the relationship with these people in certain cases overlays some patrilineal affiliation. Individual ties of clanship too are sometimes given new significance when reinforced by co-residence and exchanges of gardening rights. These patterns, we suggest, are correlated with repeated instances of transfers of prescriptive land rights from the small effective landholding group to kinsfolk of other lineages or clans.

171 619 121 (3) the district had a compact territory (unlike the tribe) but its members were not all bound in mutual support in attack and defence, as were tribesmen in Chimbu where the motives of war and alliance and the territorial results of defeat were different;

614 171 121 (4) the Orokaiva clans which were scattered, often through several districts, did not have a single territorial focus and were radically different from a Chimbu clan; the latter is much more localised in a relatively continuous territory, may include 800 persons, preserves an internal solidarity and an opposition to others, and is probably the most stable social unit with its distinctive territorial and exogamic features. Clearly even a branch of an Orokaiva clan, which is the only group corresponding in significant respects, was only a fraction of the size, followed quite different settlement practices and, it seems, has long been non-exogamous (see Brown and Brookfield 1959:51, 55, 74; Brookfield and Brown 1963:11, 94, 98).

121 171 In the present study an adequate discussion of the hypothesis requires a demonstration that the same variables isolated in the analysis of the Highlands societies can be observed among the mountain Orokaiva. It is possible to state in terms relevant to the Orokaiva context the central issues involved in the accommodation or incorporation of non-agnates in patrilineal territorial groups and the function of the complex of interpersonal ties linking groups in the local community and in the political unit. Much of our earlier discussion has dealt with residence and local organization and we will not elaborate on the obvious points of contrast in patterns of settlement or territorial organization between these Orokaiva and the Chimbu (or Enga, etc.).

171 621 121 Over and above these differences there is in the principles of organization of the local communities of the 2 peoples an essential similarity which enables us to argue that in a sense the largest political and territorial units in neither society often include 'descent groups as distinct territorial units. Local units are often composed of parts of several descent groups, and descent groups are scattered in several localities' (Brookfield and Brown 1963:94; also Brown 1962:68). A further principle directly applicable in analysing the Orokaiva District is expressed in the assertion of a

> high correlation between proximity of clans and frequency of intermarriage [which] brings about a high proportion of ties of kinship and affinity between neighbouring clans.... Territorial distinctiveness

178 361 166 241 individual mobility among the mountain Orokaiva. We especially doubt the generalization that the introduction of tree crops induces the fragmentation of villages into small 'bush settlements' which many observers thought would be established on the site of the gardens. When Agriculture staff first advocated individual cash-cropping among the Orokaiva, the policy was opposed by mission staff who feared that the villages would disintegrate as each grower moved to live near his coffee garden.

This has not in fact eventuated although there has been some movement from large temporary post-eruption settlements like the Isivita villages when immigrants returned to their own land to plant coffee or cocoa.

425 b. Developments related to land tenure

Disparities between the areas in which individuals and groups held proprietary rights are overcome by individuals acquiring rights to other land through interpersonal relationships. Cash cropping by individuals does not seem to have reduced the flexibility of exchanges and transmission of land rights. Three of the 5 persons who planted coffee on land held by members of our sample are not members of the group holding proprietary rights. Similarly, of 28 people who applied to the local government council for registered areas of cash crop land on 7 blocks held by the sample, 8 were not members of the rightholding group.[1]

[654] The need for such transfers is increased by requests from extension officers and the council to locate coffee gardens contiguously to facilitate pest control, extension services and surveying.

[241] [178] [177] Horton (1962:12) argues that new practices in the transmission of land rights have emerged with the expansion of coffee growing since 1956. Our evidence, however, shows that the significant change has been rather the introduction of a new method of cash cropping. The only experience the Orokaiva had of commercial agriculture previously was of large-scale production on plantations owned or directed by Europeans. They had not entertained the possibility of production on an individual basis.[2]

423 614 Horton expresses a view widely held among government officers[3] that the introduction of perennial crops is seen by members of the

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[1] Four of the other 20 applications were made on behalf of members absent in employment and 2 on behalf of boys.

[2] See Crocombe 1964:30.

[3] See Minutes of Higaturu Native Local Government Council Meetings.

423 landholding groups such as the clan to require adjustments in the
614 way they exercise their land rights. He feels that persons with
[425 authority over the use of a clan's land seldom interfere when it is used for food gardens, but exercise their prerogatives more strictly when permanent cultivation is proposed. He therefore considers that registration clearly defines individual rights for the first time and that this is done by public decision of the whole clan.

We would maintain that the clear differentiation of prescriptive rights of individuals and small groups in Sivepe owes nothing to
[425 cash crops or allocations by land controllers or the whole clan. The function of the registration scheme is to guarantee these rights for cash crop land and to provide facilities for transfer which are no less flexible than those which already exist in the area.

423 Meek (1949:285) points out that new methods of establishing security of tenure should follow the current local tenure practices because 'the manner of recording rights necessarily affects the form that landholding may take'.

In mid-1960 39 people with interests in Sivepe land lodged applications with a Cadet Patrol Officer for registration of land usage rights in 8 blocks of land (perhaps 10 acres). Under the Higaturu Council Registration scheme the legality of the registration was uncertain. The Orokaiva were not aware of this and accepted registration as binding. Many people thought that the application forms they received and filled out constituted registration (which they did not). Late in 1963 an officer conducting land registration visited the village but the people claimed that he would not register their blocks because he was dissatisfied with the lack of preparatory boundary clearing. The type of information sought by officials in completing the application forms reflects assumptions about clan ownership which do not fit the actual tenure situation.

[425 If the holder of prescriptive rights should wish either to have them confirmed as permanent rights or to transfer them to one of his kinsfolk any official recognition of an artificially large group as holders of residual rights could provide a precedent for influential persons in that group to extend their sectional interests to include land held by others in the group.

Similarly encroachment could occur if members of a group assumed to hold rights jointly are allocated permanent rights without attention being given to the interests of persons who in fact hold the land in severalty.

The distribution of power would be realigned with a stereotype, transfers would be impeded and litigation increased unless the

161 [184] [361] [131] The Orokaiva comprise a number of groups, with mutually intelligible dialects and a high degree of cultural uniformity, extending some sixty miles northwards from the Hydrographers Range and from the coast inland to the foothills of the Owen Stanleys. The overall population density is only 9.1 persons per square mile but the distribution is highly uneven (see Table 1.3) with major concentrations on the fertile northern slopes of Mt Lamington (63.8 persons per square miles in the Saiho census division) and the coastal periphery (62.2 in Gona census division). The grassland and more northerly forest areas are only sparsely populated.

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Table 1:3

Popondetta sub-district: demographic characteristics of selected census divisions, 1963

	Crude population density (persons per square mile)	Cultivable acres per head	Mean size of settlement
Saiho	63.8	9	216
Gona	62.2	6	221
Oro Bay	43.6	9	103
Sangara	26.7	9	197
Popondetta	17.2	19	109
Togahau	16.9	25	146
Asigi	9.1	53	87
Buna	8.4	31	94
Huhurindi	6.7	53	69

Source: Population data derived from DDA 1963 census data (1961 Popondetta, 1962 Saiho).

621 361 Small villages are the characteristic unit of settlement, with houses disposed in a more or less rectangular form around a central earth or grass 'square'. Their size varies in relation to overall population density, but nowhere exceeds 720 persons,[1] the mean being 144 persons. The social organisation and economy of the Orokaiva contribute to considerable instability in settlements, both in composition and site.

621 614 A village normally contains more than one clan branch[2] and consequently is not necessarily a landholding unit. Its members may have closer ties of kinship with residents of other villages than

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[1] Kiorota village in Saiho census division.

[2] See p.10.

621 with some of their co-residents; nevertheless, common residence
implies some community of interest and a degree of group solidarity
614 that is reinforced by Administration and mission policies which
recognise villages rather than descent groups as functional
[431] entities.[1] Marriages between members of the different clan
branches within the village reinforce this solidarity, which is
[476] expressed in such ways as daily food gifts, co-operation in certain
tasks, and joint ceremonial activities.

(b) Social organisation[2]

614 (i) Descent. Every Orokaiva is recruited by birth into the
clan of his or her father. All members of a clan claim, but cannot
[611] necessarily trace, common descent from a usually eponymous ancestor.
Each clan is subdivided into named sub-groups or lineages which
[613] trace their origin to a named ancestor.[3] A lineage comprises, on
average, three households. Usually several clans are represented
in a single village, members of a single clan (clan branches) being
scattered among a number of neighbouring villages. Lineages are
much more localised in character, frequently being confined to a
single village and tending to occupy one section of it.

[622] (ii) Leadership. The Orokaiva social system incorporates no
central authority or hereditary leadership. Instead, it is
[554] characterised by 'big men' (embo dombo) and an ascendency of
elders who have proved themselves equal to the task. Such men
command the respect of the community - based upon observed qualities
of generosity, diligence, wealth, ability to make wise decisions and
skill in arranging ceremonial activities - but it confers no sanctions.

591 (iii) Residence. Post-marital residence is ideally patrivirilocal,
but in practice people have a wide choice between the village of
patrilateral or matrilateral kin or of affines, and it may be
[592] changed at any time. The composition of individual households
within the village likewise varies, although the basis is generally
[594] the nuclear family. The distribution of clan branches through a
number of villages is closely related to access to the group's
[614] land; hence initial motivation for a long-term change in residence
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[1] Cf. comments by Belshaw (1964:277) on villages and descent groups vis-à-vis government policy in Fiji.

[2] For a fuller account see Rimoldi 1966:29-75.

[3] Genealogical depth is slight, descent rarely being traced to an ancestor more remote than the grandfathers of the oldest men.

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[614] may be influenced by proximity to a new area of land it is intended to bring into cultivation.[1]

[166] (iv) Rights to land. The Orokaiva social system is character-
423 ised by flexibility in arrangements for group membership and for transmission of rights to land (e.g. through adoption). Inheritance
[428] is usually patrilineal[2] and various land rights may be distributed at a number of levels of social segmentation - the clan branch, lineage and individual - the relative significance of each varying with locality and, apparently, population density.[3] Further, more
614 than one descent group may have rights in a single piece of land. In many instances the clan branch functions essentially as a refer-
423 ence group, all land being associated with it. However, it may function as a primary right-holding group for those hunting areas distinct from current garden land, typically the grasslands.[4] Priority rights to garden land are normally vested in the lineage; nevertheless, all such land is ultimately identifiable with individuals who may distribute land (and property) prior to their death not only to their immediate family but also to more distant kin.[5]

244 This markedly influences the pattern of both exploitation of
423 land and transmission of rights. In the low density areas a number
[613] of descent groups often agree to exploit simultaneously an area

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[1] Rimoldi (1966:68) found no evidence of the need for new land as
[754] a motive for movement. He considers the major motives to be fear
[578] of sorcery, disputes between kin and life-crises. It is nevertheless conceivable that the fear or sorcery or disputes might arise from poor yields from over-cropped garden land, which would require a move in any case.

[562] [2] Women are known to hold land only as a form of trust for their children (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:75).

[311] [3] We do not know whether any causal relationship exists between
[614] these two factors. However, the existence in low density areas of primary forest surplus to current garden needs, plus extensive grassland and mountain areas utilised largely in hunting only, might well account for the responsibility for such land being vested in the larger social group, the clan branch. This group's significance has been eroded in the high density areas, where there is little or no land surplus to present gardening needs.

[224] [4] In the high density areas hunting is frequently confined to garden land and individuals can commonly hunt over land belonging to anyone in the village.

[5] For example, sisters' sons (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:24).

434 and the remainder in either shares or savings accounts. Four of
the eleven households had no monetary assets at this time, while
454 six had no cash in hand.[1]

Table 4:5

Sivepe: monetary assets of households, January 1965
($)

Household no.	Cash	Savings bank	Shares		Clan savings account	Total
			OCGS	Oro Ltd		
1	24,00	-	10,00	16.00	-	50.00
2	15.00	-	-	20.00	-	35.00
3	-	8.50	-	10.00	-	18.50
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	10.00	-	10.00	-	20.00
10	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	8.00	-	10.00	10.00	no data	28.00
14	5.10	-	-	-	-	5.10
15	4.00	20.00	10.00	-	18.00	52.00
Total	56.10	38.50	30.00	66.00	18.00	208.60

454 Savings accounts were not popular on account of their low rate
of interest; five members of the sample had previously held accounts
but closed them, while only one (the head of household 3) deposited
any money during the survey period. Shares in the local companies,
[546] the OCGS and Oro Ltd were much preferred. The latter conducted an
intensive capital-seeking campaign during 1964 with marked success,
and the fact that it caters primarily for the indigenous community
(operating its own trade stores and supplying privately-owned ones
and in mid-1964 opening a cinema in Popondetta) aided its popularity.
However, its failure to declare a dividend that year resulted in
considerable disappointment. The OCGS declared a dividend of 5 per
cent.

● 614 Two members of Timumu clan had contributed to a clan savings
account which was supported mainly by clansmen in another village,
454 Soroputa. In 1964 it was decided to use the funds to establish a
trade store in that village. Even if implemented it is doubtful
443 whether this store would be profitable, since Steamships Trading

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[1] Coffee is not bearing at this time of year and only one man works the rubber plantation at a time, so that little cash was entering the village when the inventory was made.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE [illegible]]

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Company already operates a trade store with a liquor licence close to the village.

(e) Other household property

511 The inventory of property held by the eleven households was divided into 'non-traditional property' and 'property derived from the subsistence sector' (see Tables 4:6 and 4:7). These inventories reveal that, among non-traditional goods, the only items held by nine or more households are axes, bush knives, *petos* (for cutting grass), blankets, towels, suitcases etc., various outer garments, and mirrors. Clay pots, *tapa* cloths, combs, lime gourds and string bags are the main items of property derived from the subsistence sector. In addition, all households possess sleeping-mats either made locally from pandanus leaves or bought in a store. Although eight of the households possess hurricane lamps, they seldom have kerosene. Many of the tools were obtained during the second world war or distributed by the Administration after the eruption of Mt Lamington so that the people could re-establish their gardens. [824]

Table 4:7

Sivepe: household property derived from the subsistence sector, November 1964

Household no.	1	2	3	5	6	9	10	11	13	14	15
Tools											
Hunting net	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Wooden trough*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Household											
Clay pot	2	2	-	1	-	3	6	1	2	2	2
Gourd (water)	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-
Personal											
Sleeping-mat	2	3	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	4	2
Tapa cloth	1	4	2	2	1	-	12	5	4	8	1
Comb	2	2	-	1	-	1	2	1	1	2	2
Bamboo pipe	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	1
Lime gourd	2	2	-	2	-	1	2	1	2	3	4
String bag	3	11	3	4	-	4	6	8	10	5	2
Drum	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
Di and *hambo***	-	20	10	9	-	5	2	6	9	-	18

[301]

* For fermenting coffee.

** *Di* are ornaments made from feathers and beaks of birds; *hambo* are shell ornaments. Items made from trade store beads or scrap metal, etc. are excluded.

512 461 week of 45.8 hours. Likewise 68 per cent of the 18.7 hours spent in subsistence gardening is confined to taro cultivation and 99 per cent of the 13.0 hours on household tasks to cooking. Apart from clearing, in which women are responsible for 'sweeping' up the debris and much of the secondary burning, the time Olga devotes to the other productive subsistence activities is minimal.

Sixty-four per cent of the time spent on social obligations comprises visiting, an even greater proportion than for Gorukari although Olga did not change her place of residence at marriage.[1] One of her married daughters lives in a village about half an hour's walk away and, with her husband away in the police force in Port Moresby, there is a great deal of inter-visiting.

Although without cash crops of his own, Olga's husband worked some coffee belonging to their eldest son during the year, the son in turn confining his cash cropping to the [462] rubber. Olga assisted her husband largely in pulping and drying the parchment and in its subsequent marketing. However, her involvement with the external sector of the economy is largely confined to the external agencies, particularly the church. On account of her household responsibilities she is seldom away from the village for more than a night or two at a time, while the emphasis placed on subsistence activities (83 per cent of her total activity time) results in both her and Gorukari's spending more time on them than either Linton or Pal[illegible], in spite of the latter having longer activity weeks. Finally Olga spends less time on non-productive tasks - only 21 per cent compared with 26 per cent in the case of the two men.

Rodney Gill. Rodney Gill is Gorukari's husband's brother and, at the age of 18 years, the eldest child still residing with his parents. While both parents are often disabled through sickness and rely on the support of Gorukari and her husband, Rodney Gill's behaviour pattern does not suggest any tendency to assume domestic responsibilities. With a mean activity week of 43.7 hours he spends only 48 per cent of his time in subsistence activities and 53 per cent in productive work. Typically, adolescent aspirations are directed to wage employment and many young men leave the village. Of the six males in the 15 to 19 age group at the beginning of the year, one joined DASF at Popondetta

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[614] [1] She is a member of Arehu lineage, Jegase clan, and her husband a member of Barehipa lineage of the same clan. Intra-clan marriages are not uncommon, a contributing factor in this instance being that Olga is believed to be descended from a Togahau war captive (Rimoldi: personal communication).

181 In his discussion of Orokaiva morality, Williams (1930:322)
states that 'The group...contents itself with two main requirements -
(i) material plenty, and (ii) internal concord. ...each virtue
implies agent and reagent'. Three 'moral factors' are identified
as working positively towards the achievement of this ideal: in-
dustry (the manifestations of which have been treated in Part II),
[476] liberality and helpfulness. A concern for mutual aid operates
among members of the 'sympathy group' and is therefore only effec-
[571] tive over a socially and geographically restricted area. Being an
[431] acephalous society, it is based on a reciprocal system whereby a
prestation voluntarily made carries with it certain obligations and
expectations.

431 In traditional Orokaiva society several types of prestations
were identified, according to the scale, circumstance and nature
of the obligation incurred, and many of them are still practised,
albeit often in an attenuated form. The most common is termed
osisa - the informal daily distribution of small quantities of
437 cooked food within the village. No account is kept of the volume
involved but equal participation by all households is expected, the
only exceptions being the aged and the single men, with the latter
being called upon to reciprocate with a labour service from time to
time. Such distributions are primarily the women's responsibility.
However the casual gifts of areca and lime, made by the men, fall
within the same category.

796 The term hande, freely translated as 'generous', is applied more
specifically to ceremonial distributions and feasts organised by
574 the men.[1] They are normally characterised by the participation of
agnates and affines from other villages and by the strict attention
431 paid to the apportionment of gifts according to considerations of
kinship, status and specific obligations being acknowledged.

626 Visoare are challenge feasts of an avowedly competitive and
hostile nature made in connection with unresolved disputes such as
[578] encroachment on land, or the stealing and unauthorised killing of
pigs. They generally occur at the inter-, but neighbouring, clan
[574] level and incorporate the powerful sanction of shame for the indi-
vidual or group challenged. The procedure is for the party levelling
● [614] the initial accusation to hold a feast, invite the other, make a
gift of food to them, and then challenge them publicly to reciprocate
with a feast of equivalent scale. A failure to match it can only
result in humiliation.

431 The type of gift made as a gesture of friendship or appreciation,
572 but not normally reciprocated, is known as umbare. Such gifts are
574.

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[1] See p.26 for a description of the circumstances under which
feasts are arranged. A

A,[F Category 574, p.26--Analyst]

Introduction

121 The New Guinea Research Unit of the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University invited the author to evaluate the cognitive ability of groups of subjects who were being studied as part of a larger project. These were the Orokaiva people of the Northern District of Papua. Other related studies in the area had been or were being carried out at Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963), Gona (Dakeyne 1965), Sivepe and Borugasusu (Rimoldi 1966a, b), Ongoho (Crocombe 1964), the ex-servicemen's settlement scheme (Cheetham 1963) and in expatriate plantations (Howlett 1965).

131 The Orokaiva live on the Popondetta plain and in the Mt Lamington
197 foothills, and share mutually understandable languages. They have
been described by Crocombe (1963) as follows:

> 105 The Orokaiva people number roughly 26,000 and are divided
> into about twelve tribes. The tribes are very loose units
> [161] and recognise no single leader and before European contact,
> [619] warfare within the tribe was not uncommon. ...there are no
> land rights at a tribal level. Each tribe is divided into
> [423] a number of named clans. A clan is seldom localised, and
> usually it is divided into a number of sub-clans which are
> [614] dispersed over various parts of the tribal territory. Each
> sub-clan holds rights over a specific area or areas of land.

177 There has been European contact of some form over a long period.
795 The people are perhaps best known by the work of Williams (19[illegible] and
1930) in which he describes the earlier cult movements and the attempts to master and control new contact situations. Two of these were the cult of the Baigona men and the Taro cult. The former was concerned with healing and sorcery through a type of priest who was in communication with the spirits of the dead and now resident in various reptiles, particularly the snake. The latter was evidenced in sorcery through a priest who was possessed with the spirit of the Taro. Violent dancing or ecstatic movements often accompanied by a trance were not unlike the dance of St Vitus or St John which swept Europe in the fourteenth century (Sargant 1957).

648 The initial Japanese occupation of Papua took place in the
177 Northern District as the Japanese marched towards Port Moresby via

When the Japanese landed at Gona Mission in July 1942, all the 648
Yega - men, women and children - fled into the bush and made their 722
way to Ambasi, 30 miles to the north-west. There they lived for
the next two years, returning to the Gona area in 1944. By 1950 361
they had settled down again on their seven traditional village
sites along the coast between Cape Killerton and the eastern end
of Holnicote Bay. One new village was established at Surilai on
Cape Killerton.

Clan membership determined the village of residence of each 621
family in the Yega tribe. In some instances, place of residence 614
was determined by membership of a particular sub-clan. Of the
eight Yega villages, four were inhabited by male members of more
than one clan. The remaining four villages were each occupied by
members of only one clan and their wives and children.

After an abortive attempt at communal farming in 1947-52, the 361
large village of Beporo was brought into existence under the 178
direction and guidance of two educated young men who taught that 621
a large village close to the mission church, school and hospital
was the 'civilised' form of settlement. Some three quarters of [241]
the Yega people, apart from those in wage-work away from home, [166]
moved to Beporo village which was expanded to accommodate them.
Although a broad pattern of clan residence could still be re-
cognized in Beporo, the clans themselves began to lose their [614]
functional identity within the tribe. There was a weakening of [602]
traditional kinship patterns of co-operation in everyday activi-
ties.

Although their earlier communal farming venture had failed, the 178
Yega were still very much attracted to the idea of making money 243
from cash crops. Accordingly, with the advice of the District 242
Agricultural Officer (D.A.O.), they cleared 15 blocks during
1957-8 and planted them with coffee trees. These blocks ranged [654]
from a quarter of an acre to two acres in area; one was planted
by a group of six relatives, the remainder by individuals of
various clans.

For the most part these coffee blocks were cleared in areas of [242]
secondary forest which normally formed part of the land rotation
cycle for food crop production. Although they were located at [591]
distances of up to four miles from the blockholders' villages,
only one man changed his place of residence as a direct result of
establishing a coffee block. This man moved to Gatara, two and a
half miles inland from his previous home and established a single-
family homestead, a settlement quite out of keeping with traditional
Yega practice. The coffee scheme failed, partly on account of low
prices received for early pickings, and partly because in 1960 a
much more ambitious cocoa-planting scheme, the so-called Yega
Scheme, was begun. It absorbed most of the energies of the Yega
during the following two or three years.

Genesis of the Yega Scheme

178
245 The term Yega Scheme has been applied by the Administration to
242 the cocoa-planting enterprise undertaken by the Yega people at
Ononda, four miles inland from Gona Mission.

245 On several occasions prior to 1960, the Yega people discussed
with the D.A.O., Mr M.H. Belfield, their desire to plant extensive
242 areas of cocoa. Suitable land was not available near the coast,
654 and it was not until early 1960 when an old pre-war road was re-
opened between Gona and Popondetta that access was provided to
423 suitable forest country further inland.[1] In March 1960 Yega
178 representatives advised the D.A.O. that land was now available
[491] and sought his advice and assistance in promoting cocoa produc-
tion. The land available was mature rain forest situated about
four miles inland, just north of Ononda Creek (see Fig.5).A This
land was part of an area over which the Bowori clan of Yega had
[614] exercised rights until they were completely wiped out in inter-
[926] tribal fighting with the neighbouring Ahora people. Their land
was never reallocated among the remaining Yega clans, but was used
as communal hunting land to which no one Yega clan had any stronger
claim than others. No complex pattern of clan rights applied in
[614] the area so there was no need for compromise among clans during
the allocation of blocks.[2] Allocation of this land, whether for
subsistence gardens or for cash cropping, was vested in the chief
Yega land custodian, Nixon Kairembore, who fully approved of the
cocoa project.

The land was inspected by the D.A.O. and pronounced suitable for growing cocoa. Investigations by the Department of District Administration showed that ownership of the area specified for the cocoa project was not disputed.

245 Agriculture and administration officials tried to avoid some
242 of the problems inherent in the Higaturu Council Land Registration
Scheme (see Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:89-96) by suggesting that
654 plantings be contiguous rather than in scattered plots of irregu-
178 lar size and shape. Contiguous planting would make all blocks

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[1] The road was built pre-war by the Rev. Henry Holland and was used by the Japanese. Its reopening was mainly due to the efforts of the Anglican missionary in charge at Gona, Rev. E. Kelly.

[2] This exceptional circumstance and its bearing on the accord among clans which had prevailed, at least up to the time of writing, is relevant not only to studies of the Yega Scheme but also to the possible use of this scheme as a 'pilot' for future projects.

A, [For fig. 5 see Category [illegible], p.46--Analyst] accessible by road, enable more efficient agriculture extension services, facilitate pest and disease control, and permit a centrally located cocoa fermentary. 245 242 654 178

(361) To ensure competent local supervision of the establishment of the cocoa plantings, the Agriculture Department Extension Service built a village on the north bank of Ononda Creek. Here trainee agricultural field-workers lived while they worked with the Yega advising and assisting them in the unfamiliar tasks of laying out their blocks, 'lining' the shade trees and ensuring correct spacing of the cocoa trees. The D.A.O. entrusted a local Yega man (Napoleon Aiga of Sambori clan) with the supervision of this work. Although he is not a trained agricultural worker (he was a clerk in the agriculture office at Ioma when selected for the job), Napoleon is a man of great drive and ability; he had the confidence of the Yega and was able to direct and control the trainees who worked with the villagers in the early stages of the scheme. 245 242 654 178 466

Beginning in May 1960, an area approximately 7 by 120 chains was rapidly cleared by communal labour with most of the men of all Yega clans taking part. Provision was made for a road down the centre of the cleared area; 48 blocks were marked off, 24 on each side of the central road on 5-chain frontages. The number of blocks was based on the number of men who originally showed interest in participating in the project, plus two special blocks: one was allocated to the mission and one beside the Gona-Popondetta road was reserved as the site for a future fermentary. The remaining 46 blocks were allocated by ballot to participants in the work. The 46 men to whom blocks were allocated represented almost all Yega lineages; those lineages not represented were ones in which only old people remained in the villages, the young men having left home to work in paid employment elsewhere. After the ballot, one week was allowed for voluntary exchanges before a firm list of blockholders was drawn up. This firm list was, however, still subject to alteration within the framework of the traditional Yega land tenure system. Any cultivator considered to be unsatisfactory could be disciplined by the land custodian; if a blocholder failed repeatedly to comply with the standards expected he could be dispossessed, and his block reallocated to another cultivator. One such reallocation did, in fact, take place late in 1960.[1] 245 242 423 469 178 (614) (613) [466] [425]

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[1] The blockholder ignored three warnings from Nixon about his laziness. As a result he was dispossessed and his block allocated to another cultivator; compensation of $3 for work done already was paid by the new blockholder.

Work patterns

461 241 464 613 178 461 464 242 245 613

Traditionally among the Yega members of one lineage worked together to clear the forest in preparation for planting food gardens. The cleared patch was subdivided among those who helped with the work. Planting and caring for the growing crop was the responsibility of the individual and his family. This traditional pattern was modified when clearing rain forest for the Yega Scheme when the able-bodied men of all lineages worked together. The cleared blocks were then allocated by ballot and the individual concerned was responsible for planting shade trees, laying out a seed bed, planting out the young cocoa trees, 'lifting' shade as the trees increased in size, and keeping down the weed growth. In most instances, relatives who helped the blockholder with these tasks were compensated. For example, the cocoa pickings on 29 July (see Table 1) by Aubrey and John Livingstone were made from the same blocks as those by Ethelbert and Livingstone on 1 July. Aubrey is a member of the same lineage as Ethelbert and John Livingstone is a son of Livingstone. As part payment for work done previously on the blocks these two men were permitted by the blockholders to harvest one month's cocoa production. Other relatives who had helped with the work would be given a similar privilege.

166 242 245 461 464

Late in 1962 and early in 1963 many Yega moved their homes to the new villages of Ononda and Binjapada (see Table 5),A the reason given in every case being to live closer to their cash-crop areas. In January 1963, however, the move had not resulted in a significant increase in the amount of time spent on the cocoa blocks.[1] This was because of the time spent building their new houses. Only one man out of 12 spent any time working on his cocoa block during the period 14-28 January. The remainder divided their time about equally between building and work in their food gardens, which were scattered between the coast and the new cocoa blocks.

242 245 469 476 [614]

Several attempts were made to introduce communal labour into the production of cocoa. The first was organized by a blockholder, Wilfred Upena, early in 1963. He and 17 others belonging to five different Yega clans agreed to do a day's communal work clearing rain forest to extend each man's block in turn. As the originator of the scheme, Wilfred's turn was first and an acre of rain forest was cleared on his block on the first day. But on my return a year later no further communal work had been done by the group.

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[1] An unsupervised record of daily work was kept by a man living at Ononda from 14.1.63 to 28.1.63, but it was of only limited value.

A, [For Table 5, see Category 166, p. 43--Analyst]

242 243 474 476 (614) The second attempt at communal labour was by the men of Kurou clan, who agreed to work on specified days on the two cocoa blocks allocated to Kurou members. This scheme was initiated in mid-1963, but only two days' work was done.

The third attempt at communal labour, in July-August 1964, owed its origin to a suggestion made by the Yega councillor in the newly-formed Oro Bay Local Government Council that the Yega should perform communal work on the cocoa blocks on Tuesday each week. The work to be performed was only cutting grass and clearing additional forest, not harvesting cocoa. The first two work periods under this system were observed and the workers counted by a Papuan assistant. The results were remarkable. On both occasions over 60 adults worked for times ranging from 3 to 8½ hours, with a mean time on the two days of 6½ and 8 hours respectively. No matter what time people started work, 'knock-off' time was by whistle at 4.30 p.m.

245 461 Cocoa was harvested by individuals. Details of the work times of two men harvesting cocoa for sale to the fermentary representative were observed as follows:

Ethelbert, 1.7.64 (assisted by son aged 6 and daughter aged 8)

Walk from village to cocoa block	25 minutes
Harvest 205 cocoa pods and collect in one spot	55 minutes
Remove beans from pods	50 minutes
Await arrival of fermentary vehicle, weigh produce, await payment	1 hr 35 minutes
Total	3 hrs 45 minutes

Aubrey, 29.7.64 (unassisted)

Walk from village to cocoa blocks (including visit to friend on way)	45 minutes
Harvest 103 cocoa pods	1 hr
Remove beans from pods	40 minutes
Await arrival of vehicle, weigh produce, await payment	2 hrs 10 minutes
Total	4 hrs 35 minutes

(434) The cash reward for labour performed may be seen in Table 1. Ethelbert received $1.12 while Aubrey received $0.68.

Table 5

Permanent residents of new villages of Binjapada and Ononda
As at December 1962 (to nearest month)

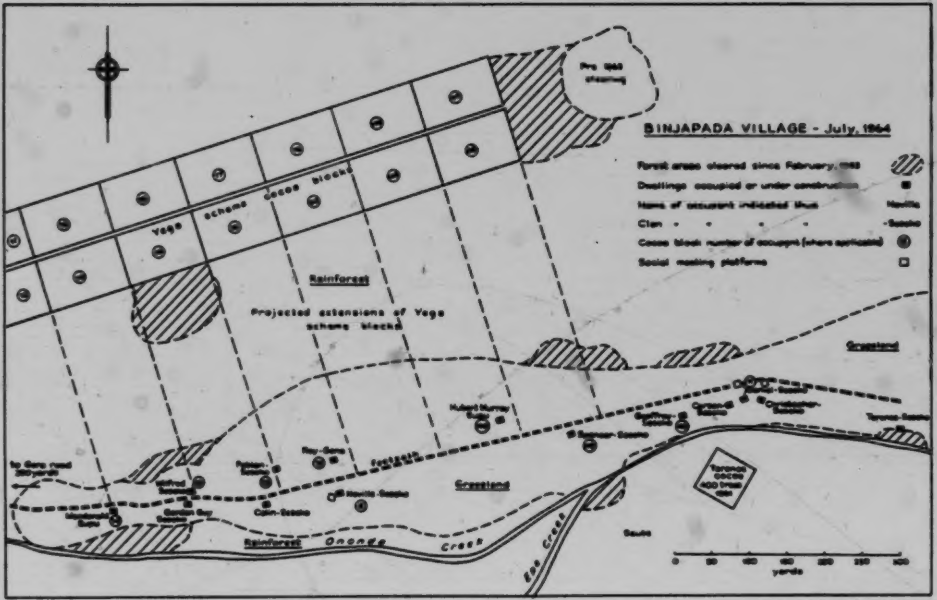
166
361
614
621

Informant	Village of present residence	Months since move	Village of last residence	Village of birth	Clan	Marital status
14	Binjapada	24	Beporo	Kanaunje	Seseko	M
1	"	12	Miniyanda	Kanaunje	Seseko	M
9*	"	12	Miniyanda	Kanaunje	Seseko	S
2	"	2	Miniyanda	Kanaunje	Seseko	M
4	"	2	Kanaunje	Kanaunje	Seseko	M
5	"	2	Kanaunje	Kanaunje	Seseko	M
6**	"	2	New Garara	Old Garara	Andere	M
7	"	2	Kanaunje	Kanaunje	Seseko	M
8	"	1	Surilai	Kanaunje	Seseko	M
24	"	0	Beporo	Basabuga	Gena	M
25	"	0	Beporo	N/S	Seseko	M
26	"	0	Beporo	Basabuga	Eupu	M
15	Ononda	12	Beporo	Kanaunje	Seseko	M
16	"	2	Beporo	Banumo	Seseko	M
17	"	2	Beporo	Banumo	Seseko	M
18	"	2	Beporo	Banumo	Seseko	M
3	"	2	Beporo	Gombe	Jambapa	M
10	"	2	Beporo	Banumo	Seseko	M
20	"	0	Banumo	Banumo	Seseko	M
21	"	0	Beporo	Beporo	Sambori	M
22	"	0	Beporo	Beporo	Jambapa	M
23	"	0	Beporo	Beporo	Jambapa	M
12	Ononda (D.A.S.F.)	30	Beporo	Banumo	Seseko	S
11	"	12	Beporo	Banumo	Seseko	S
19	"	12	Beporo	Banumo	Seseko	S
13	"	2	Beporo	Gombe	Kurou	S

[732] * Brother of informant No.1, whom he helped. He was a deaf mute and had not been allocated a cocoa block.

[423] [425] ** He is a non-Yega man who was accepted into the Seseko clan of Yega. He was allocated a cocoa block in the Ononda Scheme and his son was adopted by a Seseko man from whom the boy could inherit land. At the time of the second visit to Yega in July-August 1964 this man had rejoined his own people and his block was reallocated to a Yega man.

Figure 6


BINJAPADA VILLAGE - July, 1964
Forest areas cleared since February, 1963
Dwellings occupied or under construction
Name of occupant indicated thus
Clan
Cocoa block number of occupant (where applicable)
Social meeting platforms
Pre 1963 clearing
Yega scheme cocoa blocks
Rainforest
Projected extensions of Yega scheme blocks
Grassland
Footpath
Ray-Gana
Hubert Murray
Nevilla-Sasaho
Colin-Sasaho
Gordon Bay
Wilfred
Tyrone-Sasaho
Christopher-Sasaho
Grassland
Rainforest
Ononda Creek
Eso Creek
0 50 100 150 200 250 300
yards

102
361
245
614
311
480
133

245 423 All plantings were made on the south side of Ononda Creek in the area which the Yega claimed because it was their Bowori (extinct) clan land but which the Ahora also claimed by right of conquest. The Yega decided to reinforce their claim by occupying at least a portion of the disputed territory (Fig.7).

241 245 423 [614] [613] A large area of rain forest was cleared for food gardens in addition to the cocoa blocks planted. Permission to clear was in all instances given by the land controller, Nixon Kairembora. Swiddens were cleared by members of Sambori (1), Jambapa (5), Konambo (1), Eupu (1) and Seseko (3) clans. Cultivation rights to the land on which these swiddens were made would then be vested in the lineages to which the individual gardeners belonged.

166 361 245 241 One instance of change of residence as a result of these new clearings was noted. Three Jambapa brothers built their homes on Jamberoda grassland near which they had cleared a swidden and planted food crops and cocoa (about half a mile south of Ononda village and well into disputed Yega/Ahora territory). These houses were the furthest extension of the ribbon pattern of settlement developing along the Gona-Popondetta road; this hamlet typified the Yega trend away from large nucleated settlement to a farmstead pattern in which homes were dispersed on or near the main garden and cash crop areas.

245 423 In March 1964 a group of 23 Yega men, only one of whom had been allocated a cocoa block at Ononda, decided to clear another large tract of rain forest which would then be divided equally among the participants in the scheme. The site chosen for this new block-type development was Berojou near the south-west Yega/Beuru boundary. This boundary had been declared by the Land Titles Commissioner, surveyed, and marked by cement boundary posts. Though final siting arrangements for the individual blocks had not been completed it was expected that blocks would be approximately 10 chains frontage by 20 chains depth (frontages double those of the Ononda blocks).

245 423 614 602 The Berojou scheme differs in two major respects from the earlier Yega schemes at Ononda. Firstly it was sited on land over which certain clans, Jambapa and Kurou, had recognized rights of allocation and secondly all members of the group concerned in the development were members of these two clans or had close affinal ties with them. Men related to Jambapa were allocated blocks on Jambapa land while men related to Kurou were allocated blocks on Kurou land. These relationships illustrate the way in which rain forest was traditionally cleared by the Yega. A close affinal tie was usually essential before a person could be invited to join another group and clear rain forest belonging to another clan.[1]

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[1] Ten men in this group planted the land of other clans. In six cases their mothers were members of the clans on whose land they

245 476 Work on this scheme had not progressed far at the time of observation because of unseasonable weather. Underbrush and small trees had been cut by each individual on his block but it was decided to wait for dry weather before cutting the big trees by communal effort. All Yega would then be invited to help and helpers would be recompensed after the clearing of each block by a feast given by the blockholder and his family.

245 (242) [484] [487] As with the Yega Scheme, the advice and help of Agricultural Extension Service officers was requested and given. The site was inspected and soil suitability evaluated before the Yega started clearing. However, although the layout of the Berojou blocks closely resembled the Ononda blocks, they are half an hour's walk along narrow footpaths from the Gona-Popondetta road, the only vehicular road in the area.

245 361 166 The people concerned in the scheme lived in various places. Most lived in the Konje area, one at Mumburada, one at Gatara, while eight lived in Beporo and one further away at Gombe. However, it was likely that the Beporo and Gombe people would move inland in the near future. There was at the time no talk of moving home sites to the new cocoa blocks at Berojou.

Conclusions

241 245 178 423 The clearing of rain forest for planting blocks with permanent tree crops whose produce was to be sold for cash was a radical departure from traditional Yega land usage. The Yega Scheme incorporated traditional principles of land tenure and work organization with modifications to meet the changed circumstances of today. Features deriving from traditional precedents were:

[476] [464] (i) the use of communal labour to clear the forest, and the subdivision of the cleared area among those who helped in the work;

(ii) the absence of any documentary record of the transference of rights to individual right holders (although this was later provided under new legislation);

[464] (iii) the organization of group labour for certain tasks even though recruitment of members might not necessarily be based on purely traditional criteria;

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245 423 214 602 (continued)
planted, in one case the wife was, in one case the father's sister's husband, in another the half-brother by a different father and in the last case, the father of a half-brother.

474 grown. These were mainly used as food by the co-operative workers,
241 but in times of local food shortage they were sold to other vil-
lagers. All workers, Yega, Ahora and Beuru, lived in garden
[438] houses on the Ononda garden site during the week and returned to
[484] their home villages only at week-ends.

The establishment of gardens and the work organisation were similar at Garara. There also, peanuts and sweet potatoes were the main crops. According to an informant the value of the first harvest in 1947 was $190.

[797] Unfortunately for the co-operatives, the mission organizers soon disagreed with Samuel, for the Rev. Benson's diary on 1 April 1947 speaks of him as a 'wife-deserter, and who in consequence has been put off the committee of the G.P.T.' (and presumably placed under Church discipline). It was also stated by informants that there was dissatisfaction among shareholders with Samuel's rather secretive management of the money.

At this point the G.P.T. ceased to function and the co-operative
efforts of the Yega proceeded in different directions. The Anglican
[797] Mission sponsored a Christian co-operative which became known as
the Gona Co-operative Society, while Samuel Ungega organised the
[614] Gombe Co-operative. He was supported by most members of his own clan (Kurou), some members of his new wife's clan (Jambapa), a few members of other Yega clans (Seseko and Konambo) and also by five members of the neighbouring Bapa sub-tribe. Four of the Bapa men were married to women of Kurou Dunemba sub-clan which joined the Bapa people in past times but with whom Yega Kurou still maintained exogamous relations. The fifth man was a brother of one of these four, having no direct affinal link with Samuel or other members of Kurou clan.

[657] Early in 1948 the foreman in charge at Ononda was sent by the mission authorities to Boreo to instruct people in co-operative techniques. At about the same time the Ahora and Beuru labourers were forced by the Administration to return to their villages because of labour problems at home. Samuel's Gombe Co-operative then abandoned farming at Ononda and restricted its operations to the Garara site, where all land rights were held by members of the Jambapa clan, the clan of Samuel's wife.

[484] All members of the Gombe Co-operative workforce, including the Bapa men, lived in garden houses on the Garara site from Monday to Friday each week. The Jabapa landholders permitted the members of other clans and the Bapa men to use nearby secondary forest for their food gardens. This saved travelling time and permitted the maximum time to be spent on the co-operative gardens.

The Gombe Co-operative continued operations during 1948-9 but because of opposition from the mission it never gained popular

583 is still transferred in most marriages, including those which take
177 place in a church.

797 Polygyny was accepted but probably not frequent in traditional Orokaiva society. In spite of mission opposition there are still
595 instances of polygyny but the great majority of marriages are monogamous. Marriage outside the clan is considered preferable
● 614 but there are numerous cases of marriage within the clan. The village is not considered an exogamous unit. Marriages are usually
582 patrilocal but this is not a definite rule (cf. Williams 1930:130-3).
[621]
591

III

584 In this particular marriage the groom lived in Inonda, a village of approximately 45 people about 11 miles from Popondetta.[1] His was the only family of the Jegotumo lineage of the Andiriha clan in Inonda, although there were others at Hohota I and Kakendetta.[2] The groom was the eldest child by his father's first wife. His mother died several years before his marriage and his father remarried. The father died six weeks before the marriage payment described here took place.

The groom attended Anglican mission schools for eight years and reached Standard V. He was baptised in 1958. In 1960, when he was about 16, he left school to train as a medical orderly at a mission hospital at Embi about ten miles from Inonda. In 1962 he returned to his father's household in Inonda and was employed by the government for $3 per week to tend the ford where the road from Popondetta to Oro Bay crossed the Girua river. He also assisted with the production of coffee, from which the household earned approximately $16.00 annually, and with the household's food gardens.

The bride attended mission schools for four years and reached Standard III but was not baptized. Her father, who died during World War II, had been the head of Joremba'embo lineage and of the Andiriha sub-clan in Inonda as well as headman of that village. After her father's death the bride went with her mother, elder sister and brother to live with her mother's elder brother at Ajoro village about five miles away. In 1948 a parallel cousin of her father was demobilized from the army and married her mother, thereby becoming her adoptive father (to be referred to hereafter simply as her father). Subsequently she lived in his household in Inonda

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86]

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[1] See map, p.84A

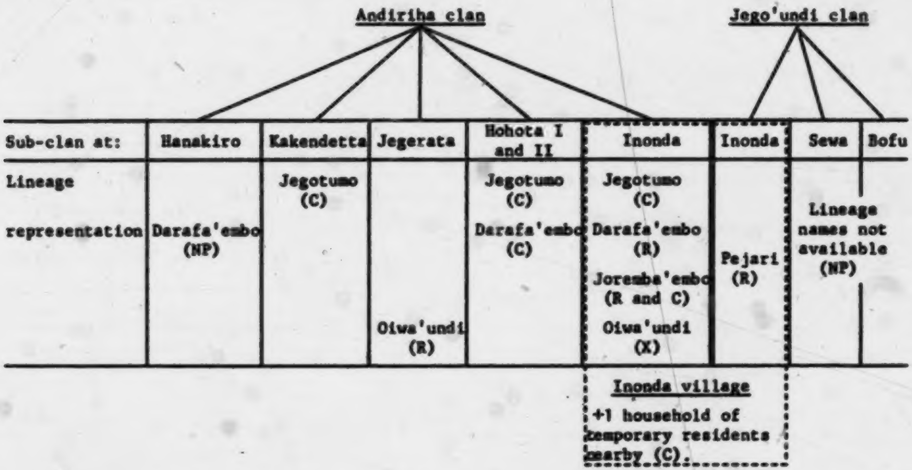
[2] See diagram, p.85B and Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:14-25.

A [See Category 102, p. 84--Analyst]

B [See Category 583, p. 85--Analyst]

GN4
621
583

Diagram showing locations of Andiriha and Jego'undi clans and social units comprising Inonda



	Andiriha clan					Jego'undi clan		
Sub-clan at:	Hanakiro	Kakendetta	Jegerata	Hohota I and II	Inonda	Inonda	Sewa	Bofu
Lineage representation	Darafa'embo (NP)	Jegotumo (C)	Oiwa'undi (R)	Jegotumo (C) Darafa'embo (C)	Jegotumo (C) Darafa'embo (R) Joremba'embo (R and C) Oiwa'undi (X)	Pejari (R)	Lineage names not available (NP)	

Inonda village

+1 household of temporary residents nearby (C).

C = contributed to bride-wealth
R = received share of bride-wealth
NP = took no part in the exchange
X = sole male representative was youth adopted into groom's father's household

Table 1

583 Bride-wealth paid for three women married into, and two marrying out of Andiriha sub-clan, Inonda

	In 1	In 2*	In 3	Out 1	Out 2**
Approximate date	1961	1958	1953	1960	1964-5
Cash	$74	$22	$40	$22	$74
Pigs	2	?	1	?	nil
Traditional valuables, utensils, etc.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	?
Food	Approx. $12	Yes	Yes	Yes	?

* Woman with illegitimate child.

** Required of a man from Madang District for a girl of Joremba'embo lineage.

[584] suitor (cf. Williams 1930:31, 141, 144, 149-50). The people of Inonda were aware of high prices paid for women near Port Moresby[1] and the bride's father, a man of high prestige in the area, may have been attempting to raise local prices towards the level of prices in urban areas.

The groom and his father complained about the price but accepted it as a challenge which must be answered by payment.

Between the time the price was set and the time it was paid, bride and groom spent much time together. For about three weeks the groom and a classificatory sister lived at the bride's father's farm where they helped with farm work. One weekend the bride, groom and bride's father went on a fishing expedition, indicating that the bride's father had consented to the marriage.

583 614 768 About a month before the bride-wealth was paid the groom's father died and the responsibility for organizing the payment passed to the head of the Darafa'embo lineage of the Andiriha sub-clan in Hohota II. This man will be referred to as 'the organizer'. Ideally the responsibility would have passed to a senior man of the Jegotumo lineage in Inonda, but the groom himself was the most senior. The responsibility could have devolved to the senior man of Jegotumo lineage in either Hohota I or Kakendetta, where Jegotumo was represented, but the only Jegotumo

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[1] Bride-wealth exchanges in Hanuabada, Central District, at the time were mostly in the range $600-$1200 in cash plus an equivalent amount in traditional valuables (M.D. Oram, personal communication).

583 614 768

man in Hohota I was in his late twenties and had insufficient status in the Andiriha clan to organise the payment. There were two senior Jegotumo men in Kakendetta but the responsibility went to neither, probably because Kakendetta was 11 miles from Inonda and the groom's father's household had little contact with them. Inonda people said that the reason the position of 'organizer' passed to the head of the Darafa'embo lineage in Hohota was that about the turn of this century his father and the groom's paternal grandfather had fled together from Aramba to Hohota and that the common history of the two families placed the organiser in a special relationship with the groom (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:14).

583

Several times during the two and a half months over which the bride-wealth was accumulated, the bride's father embarrassed the groom and his supporters by saying publicly that they were slow to meet the payment and that he thought they were incapable of doing so. About five days before the event the groom and his supporters arranged with the bride's father that the exchange should take place on Friday, 30 August at Hohota II.

On Thursday, part of the food contributed by Hohota people was stacked in a shade-house adjacent to the organizer's house. That evening four men from Hohota went to Inonda to assist the Inonda men to carry to Hohota a large and valuable pig which had belonged to the groom's father and was to be part of the bride-wealth.

At 6.00 a.m. on the day of the ceremony the groom's supporters began to gather at the organizer's residence at Hohota. All were assembled by 10.30 a.m. The food they brought was stacked near the shade-house and the traditional valuables on the verandah of the residence. Both bride and groom had spent the night at Hohota but they took only minor parts in the preparation of the bride-wealth.

At 6.30 a.m. a party of five women, including the bride's father's two wives (one of them the bride's mother) and the bride's mother's brother's wife, stood outside the organizer's house berating the groom's family for failing to have the bride-wealth completely ready. These women had come to collect a preliminary payment, kima, contributed by close relatives of the groom and distributed amongst close relatives of the bride to indicate to the bride's family that she is marrying into a family of wealth. Some cash, traditional valuables, household utensils, food and several pieces of bark-cloth were handed to the women, who stacked them into string bags and returned at 8.30 a.m. to the bride's father's house, two miles away.

At 7.30 a.m. other members of the Jegotumo lineage and people who had come to the ceremony smeared the groom, his stepmother, stepsister and other close relatives with a paste of mud, ashes

583 [851] These people were expected to return a feast of similar size for the groom, in contrast to the bride-wealth for which no return payment is expected.

VII

583 613 The economic consequences of the payment were greatest in four households - those of the groom and his parallel cousin, both of Jegotumo lineage, who contributed most; and those of the bride's father and brother, both of Joremba'embo lineage, who received most. Other households' contributions to, and shares of, the payment were minor by comparison. Members of a lineage did not act as a unit for the purpose of the marriage, nor was each member expected to contribute to, or share equally in, the payment, or even to contribute in proportion to his wealth.

583 614 This was not an ideal situation in which to investigate the extent to which the Andiriha clan functions as a unit, because the marriage was within the clan. However, it was by no means a clan affair. On the one hand, Andiriha households from Hanakiro, a village distant from Inonda, took no part, and on the other, heads of households which participated in the exchange were drawn from about 20 different clans. Households from Andiriha lineages other than those of the bride and groom did not contribute significantly more to, or receive significantly larger shares of, the payment than households of other clans.

583 602 The range of genealogical connections between the groom and heads of contributing households was extremely diverse and there was a similarly wide range of relationships in the recipient group. It is therefore difficult to determine with accuracy the extent to which genealogical relationships influence obligations between households and also the extent to which a particular type of genealogical relationship implies a particular degree of obligation. Adoptive relationships and distance between households appear to modify the extent to which genealogical relationships entail obligations.

583 621 Co-residence in a village may also have some influence. Some people, though not all, from each of Kakendetta, Hohota I, Hohota II and Urio villages contributed to the payment, but nobody from these villages received a share. On the other hand, no member of Mosou, Ajoro, Sewa or Jegerata - villages which received parts of the payment - made a contribution. Inonda was the only village in which there were both contributors and recipients. This may indicate that membership of a particular village was a factor determining the group with which a household was aligned and may

166 people were shifted about two miles eastward to a site adjacent to the wartime Inonda airstrip. People of several other villages (including Ajoro, the home of the Tandai'undi) were also resettled in the same area for safety. We will refer to this as Inonda II. During 1952, when the danger of further eruption was considered to be over, they shifted their village to Inonda III which was approximately a mile closer to their planting lands. In 1956 the people who had been temporarily resettled for safety at Inonda moved back to their respective villages. The local people then moved to their present site, Inonda IV, which is midway between their food gardens and their coffee plots.

Demographic and social structure

614 At the time of our survey, of a total population of 45 living in 8 households, 23 were members of the Andiriha sub-clan and 5 members of the Jego'undi sub-clan. The remaining 17 belonged to other clans. Of these 17, 8 were wives of members of the Inonda sub-clans and another 7 were relatives of these wives. The remaining 2 were the children of the sister of an Andiriha man who had come with their mother on a visit.(1) The number of persons in Inonda households ranged from 3 to 10 with an average of 5.6. There were 4 nuclear, 1 polygamous and 3 extended families.

The term 'clan' will be used to refer to the large patrilineal Orokaiva descent groups, each of which claims descent from a common ancestor but cannot trace it in fact. Each clan has a common name and a common plant emblem or erahu.(2) The clan name (frequently that of the founding ances-

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[589]
[628]

(1) Of the 17 persons who were not members of the Inonda sub-clans, 4 came from the Kongaria clan of Urio village and 7 from the Ceumbe'undi and other clans of Hohorita village. This reflects the marriage links with these villages as six of the nine wives came from Urio or Hohorita. Marriage links with Urio are said to have been maintained for more than two generations, but those with Hohorita began in the last decade.

(2) Sometimes known as jarahu or heratu. For a detailed description of the nature and function of the erahu see Williams, 1925. The erahu of the Andiriha clan is tinari, any plant tied in a particular knot.

612 tor) is suffixed by the term 'undi (the descendants of a particular ancestor) or haha (which is sometimes shortened to ha).(1) In conversation the Orokaiva often refer to the jawo (name) and speak of members of the one clan as embo jawo vahai (people of the same name). Alternatively, one's clan is frequently referred to as one's orope (men's house, as each clan group within a village occupied a separate men's house). More commonly, however, people used the English word 'clan' even when speaking in the vernacular.

Clans are usually dispersed and in the case of the Andiriha separate sub-clans are to be found in at least five villages. We use the term 'sub-clan' to refer to a local branch of a clan (i.e. within a particular village or a cluster of neighbouring hamlets). Orokaiva people use the terms quoted in the last paragraph for sub-clan as well as for clan, and distinguish sub-clans when necessary by adding the name of the village in which [582] they are located. Clans and sub-clans are not exogamous but people express a clear preference for marriage outside the clan.

613 A sub-clan is usually divided into a number of lineages each of which has a name and an erahu which is distinct from that of the clan as a whole.(2) To determine a man's lineage it is usual to ask the name of his haije (the ancestor or ancestral name from whom he traces). Several persons were unable to trace their precise relationship to other members of the same lineage. Genealogies are short and no person could name any ancestor earlier than those who settled in Sambogo about fifty years ago; and only a few of those could be named. [587] The lineage was said to be strictly exogamous but an instance of marriage within a lineage was noted. Some lineages are further

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(1) These terms refer to descent groups as a whole. An individual male uses the suffix pa and a female ja. Thus a man of Jego'undi clan is referred to as Jegopa and a woman as Jegoja.

(2) The plant emblems of the lineages are as follows: Jocumba'embo lineage, [illegible] emblem; Otura'undi lineage, yara emblem; Dasala'embo lineage, horon emblem; Jegotumo lineage, sata emblem; Jego'undi lineage, [illegible] emblem. These emblems are all plants, whereas that of the clan as a whole is a particular insect, and any leaf, vine or grass may be used to form it.

613 divided into sub-lineages.

614 There is no unitary leadership of a dispersed clan. The highest level of unitary leadership is usually that of the sub-clan or of linked co-resident sub-clans (as at Inonda), though we have heard of instances elsewhere in the Orokaiva area of leaders of senior sub-clans having some authority in respect of junior (i.e. more recently formed) branches of the same clan which are located in separate villages in the vicinity. [622] The leader of a sub-clan is referred to as the embo kiti or embo kiti jigari (first-born man or first-born leader), and of a village as the embo dombo (big man). The embo dombo of a village seems always to be embo kiti of his own sub-clan within it. These are descriptions of particular statuses and are not formal rank titles.

614 622 Leadership of the Andiriha sub-clan was shared between three individuals in a delicate balance. They were also in practice the leaders of the village as a whole for the Jego'undi are in a subordinate position. The first of the leaders was the eldest surviving son (by adoption) of the previous sub-clan leader. He does not now live in the village, but about two miles away on the Girua resettlement scheme. He pays frequent visits to the village and exercises considerable influence, particularly in land matters. He speaks of himself as the embo dombo of the village and embo kiti of his sub-clan. The second was a man descended from the Hohota branch of the Andiriha clan (which claims exclusive rights to a tract of land there, whereas the Inonda section of the clan does not claim exclusive rights to its land). He was a forthright, assertive man and was recognized as sub-clan leader for some years during the absence of the first man mentioned. He lived in the village and still claimed to be embo dombo and embo kiti (until his death during our stay) on the ground that the former leader had "left the village". The third leading citizen is the eldest surviving child of the first-born son of a former sub-clan leader (now deceased). He is at present the elected councillor for Inonda and neighbouring villages in the Higaturu Local Government Council. Being a young man he does not claim to be leader of the sub-clan but generally defers to his elders, though he often acts as their spokesman.

64 The Jego'undi (or Perohaha) sub-clan has only two adult males. They are brothers and the younger of them is sub-clan leader. The elder brother has no children and is a retiring personality, but even the younger brother appears to exert relatively little influence in village affairs.

CHAPTER 2 - LAND TENURE

619 The concept of the tribe as a group of related clans exists among some of the Orokaiva people, but among the Inonda villagers at least it seems to be only vaguely defined and to have [111] little if any relevance to land matters. The Andiriha and Jego'undi sub-clans are referred to in some reports as belonging to the Ihane'embo tribal group and although Inonda informants recognize some affinity with the other clans in this group, they say that the name Ihane'embo came into use only after European contact.

423 Land rights were found to be distributed at the following levels of social segmentation:

The rights of social units

423 The sub-clan: All land investigated in and around Inonda was found to be associated with one or more sub-clans.(1)
614 It is a common misconception on the part of outside observers that any particular piece of land can be associated with only one such group. This is certainly not the case in the Inonda area and from superficial enquiries it appears that the Inonda case is not unique.

Where more than one sub-clan claims rights in an area the rights of each are determined by two factors - the circumstance under which the original division of rights took place; and the temporal, demographic and social changes that have occurred since the original division of rights.

This may be illustrated by the Inonda situation where

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(1) Several atypical instances have been noted wherein rights are held by the clan as a whole rather than by a particular sub-clan. This may be exemplified by the case of the Asumba lands which are described on page 23.

429 614 rights to the majority of the lands are shared by three sub-clans: Tandai'undi, Andiriha and Jego'undi.(1) In view of the extent of warfare and population movement in the past, it is likely that various clans or sub-clans have occupied this land at various times(2), but the passage of time erodes away the historical facts from the memories of the living and what is important today is not the facts themselves so much as the traditionally accepted version (or versions) of them. The accounts given to us accept the Tandai'undi as the 'original' rightholders in this area, and the Andiriha and Jego'undi as having acquired certain rights which are perpetual provided occupation is continued and relations between the sub-clans remain amicable. The stability of residence which resulted from the abolition of warfare has no doubt resulted in a longer term identification of particular groups of people with particular areas of land, and this identification can be expected to become increasingly closely defined with the passage of time and the increase of population.

429 614 425 As noted on pages 14-15, the Tandai'undi transferred rights in the Inonda land to the local Andiriha sub-clan in return for valuables, pigs and women. The precise rights obtained by this transfer are not clear for some contingencies which have subsequently arisen (such as cash cropping) were not foreseen at that time and other conditions were tacitly understood in terms of indigenous concepts of rights to property. The deal undoubtedly gave the Andiriha rights to plant food crops, hunt and forage, though it seems likely that they were not given rights of disposal outside the clan (and probably not outside that particular sub-clan which negotiated the deal).

Presumably the rights of the Andiriha can be expected to strengthen with the passage of time and continued occupation, but even though they have now enjoyed nearly two

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(1) It would not be surprising if, in the event of an investigation by the Lands Commission, Urio people also claimed rights to this land (i.e. if they wished to challenge Mr. Oelrichs' earlier decision - see page 15).

(2) This seems to be general in the Orokaiva territory according to Williams, 1930:151-60; Chinnery and Beaver, 1915 Appendix 2.

423 generations of undisturbed occupation and have reinforced their position by frequent marriage connections and subsequent kinship
614 ties with the Tandai'undi, they still recognize that some residual
425 rights are held by the Tandai'undi. The extent of these rights cannot be closely defined except in relation to specific situations. For instance all parties seem to be agreed that the Tandai'undi could not plant the Inonda land without the approval of the leader of the Andiriha sub-clan and in fact they neither plant nor hunt there. Likewise, it is agreed that if the Andiriha died out their rights would revert to the Tandai'undi. Although there is no disagreement about rights of this nature, trouble would almost certainly arise in the event of incidents (such as cash sale of land to an outside group) for which there is no traditional precedent.

423 614 It is perhaps significant that most of the Inonda people have planted their cash crops on the other side of the Girua river on land to which the Tandai'undi have no claim. Moreover, a recent survey by the Lands Department shows Inonda as Tandai'undi land, though the Inonda people consider this to be an error.(1)

614 425 173 According to the oral history of the Inonda people, they have acquired land rights at various times by discovery and settlement of vacant land (at Aramba), by permissive occupation (at Wauta and Sambogo) and by customary transfer (at Inonda). Conversely they have lost rights by defeat in war (at Aramba) and by voluntary abandonment (at Wauta and Sambogo).

614 425 423 The Inonda people have shifted their village at least eight times in the course of the past fifty years and on the first three occasions they shifted to completely different areas of planting and hunting land. With each shift they have acquired some new land rights and lost others. In no case have they acquired all rights to the lands they moved onto and in no case have they lost all rights to the lands they left.

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(1) Map held by National Mapping office entitled, "Land Tenure in the Ihane'embo Native District, Orokaiva, Northern District" prepared by W.A. McGrath 7.4.1959.

64 425 429 When they were originally chased out of Aramba the defeated people fled but they still claimed residual rights in the Aramba land and hoped that their former rights could be reactivated at a later date. Had government control not been introduced at that stage they may either have fought and regained the land, or have abandoned it to the conquerors. In fact, although the conquerors had control of the land, the question of residual rights lay in abeyance until the Mt. Lamington eruption in 1951 when most of them were killed. Thereafter, the people of Inonda (along with Andiriha and Jego'undi people living in other villages) began to reassert their dormant residual rights by paying periodic visits to the area to gather wild foods. The Andiriha clan have delegated planting and hunting rights to the Havoni'undi and Umburahaha clans which live nearby at Sewa.(1) They claim to have made it a condition that only subsistence crops be planted. Any attempt to separate the residual rights of the various sub-groups of the Andiriha and Jego'undi from one another, and from the rights of conquest of the Sangara tribes, and from the rights of occupation of the Havoni'undi could only be made on arbitrary criteria.

During their stay with the Sauhaha clan, the Andiriha acquired gardening rights which they relinquished on their departure. Since then the Andiriha have frequently acquired wives from Sauhaha and have thus reinforced their earlier connection by these affinal and maternal links. As the Inonda area is short of sago, which grows in abundance on Sauhaha land, these relationships enable the Inonda people to continue to make sago on Sauhaha land.

In the course of their residence at Sambogo, members of the Inonda sub-clans cleared garden sites and planted sago, coconut, breadfruit and other trees from which they still collect fruit. The Inonda people claim that as their forefathers

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(1) The Jego'undi lands at Aramba are looked after by members of that clan who live at Bofu and Sewa. The claims of the Andiriha and Jego'undi to the Aramba area were challenged by survivors of the Sangara people shortly after our field survey was completed. In recent months all parties have increased their "acts of use" in the area. The case is now before the Native Lands Commission.

614 425 429 cleared the virgin forest, any of their number could return and take up residence on the site of their previous village and again use their abandoned gardens (which are now covered with second growth). The area is too far distant to be planted while living at Inonda. On the other hand they recognize the residual rights of the Tandai'undi to the garden land, and the exclusive rights of the Tandai'undi to hunt in the bush and fish in the river. It is apparent that some rights in the area are retained by each party, but it is probable that the Inonda people could not in fact resume residence there without further negotiations with the Tandai'undi.

About twenty years ago a man of the neighbouring village of Urio who had no sons of his own (nor any brothers with sons) gave a large block of land named Sesehauta, which lies adjacent to Inonda, to his sister's sons - the members of the [574] Jego'undi sub-clan of Inonda. In an attempt to avoid future dispute he held a feast to mark the transfer. At the feast, the Jego'undi gave pigs, taro and traditional valuables to their mother's brother and these were distributed among his clansmen. About two years ago the people of Mosou came, at the suggestion of Native Affairs officers and with the approval of the Jego'undi, and established their village on this land. They did not make any payment, nor do they propose doing so, though they do make occasional informal gifts of betel nut and sago to the Jego'undi. Although most Mosou people still plant on their own lands a mile or two away, several of them plant on the Jego'undi land. The Mosou people do not hunt on this area as they have ample other hunting land, but the Andiriha of Inonda sometimes do. This is another case of land rights being shared by several clans and sub-clans - the donors who retain residual rights, the donees who hold some current use rights, the Mosou people to whom some rights of residence and land use have been delegated, and the Andiriha of Inonda with whom the Jego'undi sometimes share hunting rights and who consider that, as the dominant sub-clan, they should be consulted on questions of disposal or transfer of rights to the land. Neither of the two adult members of the Jego'undi in Inonda have sons, though one has daughters. The future rights to the Sesehauta land will presumably remain in the balance for some time.

Other sub-clan rights include those to burial grounds
614 and tracks. Once land is set aside and used as a burial ground
423 it remains vested in the descent group even after it is no longer
425 used for burial. Burial grounds may, however, be a post-
764 contact innovation, for in the pre-contact era the dead were
sometimes buried under the houses in which they had lived. In
[177] the case of tracks, however, the descent group which holds the
surrounding land retains reversionary rights and in the event of
the tracks being no longer used by the community they revert to
the relevent descent group. There are two burial grounds at
present in use in Inonda - one for Christians and the other for
pagans. There are also old disused burial grounds adjacent to
the sites of previous villages.

613 The lineage: The Andiriha sub-clan of Inonda is
423 divided into four lineages but the Jego'undi sub-clan consists of
a single lineage. After rights to the Inonda lands had been ac-
425 quired from the Tandai'undi it was decided that the mountainous
hunting lands would be held in common by the Inonda people, but
the garden land, the grassland and at least some of the foothills
were divided among the lineages. Some informants claim this
was done almost immediately by the head of the joint sub-clans,
but it seems unlikely that all the lands were divided at this time.
All agree that some land was allocated at the time of the trans-
fer, but some maintain that not all of it was and that identification
with particular lineages in many cases followed later clearing.

While most lands are said to have remained with the lineage which originally cleared them, some have changed hands. For example, when the Andiriha people first came to settle in Inonda they obtained their seeds and planting shoots from the Jegotumo (an Andiriha lineage - not to be confused with Jego'undi sub-clan) which was then living in Hohota. The Jegotumo also assisted by providing one of the brides and some of the valuables for the payment which was made to the Tandai'undi, and thus acquired a right to the Inonda lands although they did not actually exert their rights at the time. Some years afterwards, however, when they felt that they were being subjected to sorcery in Hohota, they came over to live in Inonda and were granted rights to a

592 The household: This usually functions as a single unit of food production and consumption. In the case of a polygamous household, however, each wife plants and cooks separately, and in extended families which accommodate one or more unmarried adults these usually have individual food gardens though their produce is pooled and cooked for the whole household.

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423 Land rights exercised by the household as a unit are restricted to usufructuary rights for the production of short-term food crops. This situation is analysed in more detail in the following section.

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614 The individual: The land rights of individuals are predominantly a function of their status in relation to particular sub-clans and lineages. From data collected in Inonda we can recognize four distinct statuses:

(1) Primary membership: This is the status of persons who were born or adopted into the descent group and who are domiciled within it. Of the eleven adult males in Inonda, nine were primary members of either the Andiriha or Jego'undi sub-clans. A marginal case not included above is that of the ex-leader of the Inonda village who recently shifted to take over a farm about two miles away on the Girua resettlement scheme. He visits the village frequently and is still treated for most purposes as a primary member.

(2) Contingent membership: This is the status of persons who have been primary members, but have subsequently left the village (either at marriage or otherwise) to live elsewhere. They do not normally lose all their rights by doing so, though the nature of their rights changes. A contingent member, it seems, can generally regain primary membership by returning to reside in the sub-clan (as frequently happens with widows, returning migrant workers etc.). We are aware of eight contingent members of the Inonda sub-clans. Four of them are women who are married to men in other villages. Of the four men, one is away at work in Port Moresby, one is living in his mother's village and will probably remain there, one lives on the land of his deceased sister's husband in another village and the fourth lives in the village of his mother's new

428 husband and uses the latter's land.

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614 (3) Secondary membership: This status is held by the children of contingent members of a descent group. Most people can claim secondary membership of their mother's father's lineage and clan. The degree to which the rights associated with secondary membership are in fact exercised appears to depend on the distance from the mother's village and the amount of contact with her family.(1) Although no attempt was made to compile an exhaustive list of secondary members of Inonda sub-clans, incidental information was collected on eight such persons. The children of secondary members of a descent group may be regarded as distant secondary members but, although in exceptional circumstances a distant secondary member may exert land rights in that group this is in fact a rare occurrence.

(4) Permissive membership: This is the status of those who reside in a sub-clan or lineage but do not belong to it by birth or adoption. They are admitted under particular circumstances and generally only for such time as they observe the conditions appropriate to that admission. Of the eleven adults in the village who have only permissive status with the Inonda clans, eight are wives of Inonda men, one lives with his mother who is now married to an Inonda man and the remaining two are a married couple who have two daughters married to Inonda men.

In summary, primary members are linked to the descent group by both descent and residence, contingent members by descent and previous residence, secondary members by descent only and permissive members by residence only.(2) There are of course marginal or special cases in each category, but each person in Inonda was found to fall into one, two or

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(1) Most instances cited related to the taking of produce from the land of the mother's father or brothers.

(2) The sub-clan membership status of adults in Inonda was as follows household heads, 7 primary and 1 permissive members; wives, 9 permissive members; others, 3 primary (2 men, 1 woman) and 2 contingent female members (the latter visiting).

423 three categories in relation to particular clans, i.e. a man
613 may be a primary member of an Inonda sub-clan and a secondary
member of his mother's clan; or a married woman may be a
614 contingent member of her father's clan, a secondary member of
her mother's clan and a permissive member of her husband's
423 clan. Each category may be sub-divided according to sex, for
the rights of males in each category are in some respects
562 different from those of females. Hunting rights, for example,
are never exercised by women though occasionally a husband
hunts on the land of his wife's sub-clan. Likewise food gardens
are seldom planted by a married woman on land in which her
lineage has proprietary rights; and men quite often harvest tree
crops from their mothers' lands, though women seldom do so.

614 The people of the Andiriha and Jego'undi sub-clans
of Inonda recognise all other members of their respective clans,
613 wherever they reside, as kinsmen. Although distant kinsmen
423 visit for feasts and ceremonial occasions, only those persons
who can trace descent from the original Inonda settlers have any
proprietary rights in the Inonda lands. It is said that any clansman who was evicted from another village would be given asylum here and provided with whatever land he needed for sustenance, but this has never occurred in fact, with the exception of the Jegotumo who came over from Hohota, though in that case they had contributed a bride, pigs and valuables to the exchange at the time of acquisition of the Inonda lands.

Individuals normally acquire their land rights only as a function of their status with respect to particular descent groups but such rights are acquired from an individual within the descent group rather than from the descent group as a whole. As stability of residence strengthens the rights of particular descent groups so also does it lead to the clearer definition of the rights of individuals.

The status of adoptees varies according to in-
614 dividual circumstances as the following examples show. About
619 fifty years ago the Andiriha (who were then living at Sambogo)
423 attacked a village of a neighbouring but unrelated Managalas
591 tribe. Some of the inhabitants were killed and others fled.
Two small boys who were captured were adopted by an Andiriha

614 man and both are now aged residents of Inonda. Having no
613 other source of land rights they became accepted as primary
(but perhaps less privileged) members of their adoptive father's
423 lineage and sub-clan and were given rights to some of his land.
597 These are still held. One of them married an Inonda woman and his children have acquired some rights from their father and some from their mother. The other man married a woman from the neighbouring Urio village. He has no children and lives with his only adopted daughter's family. He is old and senile and cannot leave the house. When all the lands of the village had been covered by our survey, none had been mentioned as belonging to him. When the matter was queried it was explained that technically he had rights in the lands of his lineage of adoption, but that as an aged dependant without issue, these rights would lapse on his death. In practice they had already lapsed.

[848] Two illegitimate children have been adopted by the father of their respective mothers (who were sisters). They will acquire land rights from him in the same way as if they were his own children. (His only born son is at present teaching in New Britain). In one case, however, the mother's present husband has also offered to make land available to the boy when he grows up. In the early stages at least he would acquire only permissive rights to this land.

597 In the event of the death of a local man who has
768 young children, the children will need adoption in so far as
foster care is concerned, but not necessarily in so far as land
428 rights are concerned. A current example is that of the death of the only resident adult member of the Oiwa'undi lineage. A man of Jegotumo lineage took in the deceased's wife and "adopted" his children, but it is understood that they will inherit their land rights from their father, though in the event of need they could get land from their adoptive father. The adoptive father at present acts as 'trustee' for their lands.

A marginal case is that of a young unmarried man of a distant tribe whose mother recently remarried to an Inonda widower who has no children. The young man lives and plants with the couple. His mother's new husband speaks of him as his adopted son and says that if he remains in the village he will

429 be available to any villager if another abandons them and does
361 not intend to rebuild on that site. The people can, nevertheless,
[425] point out the sites of the houses of particular individuals in former villages and in some cases these are marked by coconut or other trees. It appears likely that the ideal Orokaiva pattern was to occupy a series of village sites in turn (following the rotation of garden sites) but the Inonda people have not been settled long enough in one area for the rotation to become established. The people today claim that individuals and lineages retain rights in economic trees growing on former village sites but that rights to the house-sites themselves have lapsed.

423 Garden land: There is considerable flexibility in the
241 relationship between the planting of food gardens and the holding
613 of rights to land. Of the 55 gardens (covering 27.1 acres)
614 which were surveyed, only 20 (covering 9.8 acres) have been planted on land held by the lineage of which the planter is a primary member. Twenty-eight gardens have been planted on land in which the planter belongs to a different lineage within the same sub-clan or village. Three gardens have been planted on land held by another lineage of the same clan but in a neighbouring village, and the remaining four have been planted by a man who has no hereditary rights in Inonda lands but whose daughters have married into the village, one into the leading lineage. Details are shown in Table 3. Permission to plant is granted on a reciprocal basis and where the planter does not belong to the rightholding lineage, it is tacitly understood that when the main block of gardens moves to his lineage's land, he will permit other members of the sub-clan or village to plant gardens there if they wish.

Two of the five gardens which have been planted on land outside the Inonda limits are on the land of the Andiriha sub-clan in Hohota village. The planter of both was a born member of an Andiriha lineage which is represented in both Hohota and Inonda. He shifted to Inonda many years ago and joined the Inonda branch of his lineage. It appears that the gardens have been made in order to maintain or emphasize his claims to the land. His adopted son, who belongs to a different lineage, has also cleared a patch of second growth in order to make a food garden on this land. Two other gardens (one a feast garden) have been planted on Andiriha land at Hohota by the man who has

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

Table 3

Rights to food garden land

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241
613
614

	Nature of planter's right in his garden land	No. of gardens	Area of gardens (acres)
1.	Planter is a primary member of the rightholding lineage	20	9.8
2.	Member of a different lineage but within the same sub-clan	18	8.3
3.	Member of a different lineage and sub-clan within the same village	10	3.7
4.	Member of a different lineage but within the same clan (though in another village - Hohota)	3	1.6
5.	Permissive rights only (belongs to a clan which is not represented here, but lives in Inonda village)	2	1.1
6.	Permissive rights only (as for 5, but gardens located in another village - Hohota)	2	2.6
	Total	55	27.1

423 only permissive rights at Inonda or any nearby place. He has
been living at Inonda for some years on a temporary basis and
241 is dependent for gardening land on his relatives by marriage at
613 Inonda. He has also been loaned two pieces of gardening land at
614 Hohota, where he used to conduct a church school, and is
obliged to accept whatever land is made available to him. One of his gardens in Hohota is planted on land held by his mother's sister's husband's brother's son, and the other on the land of a senior deacon of the Hohota church.

Two other gardens with recognizable boundaries have been made amongst the main block of gardens. One was made in 1960 by an Inonda man who has since died, and the other by a man of the Jegotumo lineage (of the Andiriha clan) who was born in Inonda but now lives in Hohota village. The sub-lineage to which he belongs has rights to at least two areas of Inonda land. It was presumably to affirm his rights that he made a garden on one of these lands, for he does most of his gardening in Hohota, where his lineage has ample land. Inonda folk say that his rights in the Inonda land will 'live' while he or his son work the land and 'visit' the village (i.e. take part in appropriate village activities such as church celebrations, taro festivals, weddings and funerals). If he did not work the land, they say, then his sons (who are still small children) would not be entitled to make use of it.

423 - Informants claimed that a man in need has the right
241 to make gardens on the land of the mother's brother though this
604 is exercised only if it is within walking distance of the planter's
village. The only instance noted was that of a man who began preparing a new garden on his mother's brother's land at Urio just after our survey was completed.

423 Hunting and foraging rights: Any primary member
614 of the Andiriha and Jego'undi sub-clans in Inonda can hunt or
forage on any portion of the Inonda land which is covered with
621 virgin bush, kunai grass, or second growth. Likewise any
224 villager may take such timber or firewood as he needs from the
[313] virgin bush, and although it is said that one may also take these

423 things from any area of second growth it appeared from our ob-
621 servations that people seldom took wood from second growth land
614 other than areas which they themselves had previously planted.
224 Permissive members of the sub-clans exercise the same hunting and foraging rights as primary members.
[313]

Contingent members of the Inonda sub-clans (or their husbands in the case of women), are entitled to hunt on Inonda lands, though they are expected to notify the villagers before doing so. Contingent members of the sub-clans do not in fact come to forage. During our stay one contingent member of the Andiriha sub-clan and the husband of another came to hunt on several occasions. Both live in villages within two hours walk of Inonda. It is said that those from further away rarely come, and then only to acquire meat for an important feast.

423 On rare occasions, when they have inadequate meat
614 for a forthcoming feast which involves the whole clan, clansmen
628 from other villages come to Inonda and make a formal request
574 for permission to hunt there. They remain for several days and
224 hunt with the help of the local people, smoke the meat and then return home. The Inonda people are then invited to partake of the feast in the village which is holding the celebration, and will be given gifts of garden produce on their departure.

423 Only three Inonda men exercise hunting rights out-
614 side Inonda land. The first two are the members of the Jego'undi
224 sub-clan. They were given hunting rights to a piece of land which abuts the Inonda land to the south-east by their mother's brother shortly before his death. He lived in the adjacent village of Urio and had no children of his own. The other Inonda man with hunting rights outside the lands of the sub-clans is the councillor. He is the eldest surviving child of the previous sub-clan leader, and it also may be significant that he has attained a higher standard of education then any other member of the sub-clan. He was given hunting rights to a portion of land which abuts the Inonda lands to the south-west, by his mother's father who was also the man who gave him his name. The donor was an elder of the Tandai'undi clan of Ajoro village and made the

423 614 224 transfer at a feast shortly after the grandson finished his schooling. Along with the rights he was given the obligation to look after the land and ensure that nobody else uses it. In fact, he informs us, the only person whom he permits to hunt there is his adoptive father.

423 224 All Inonda people, along with all members of the Andiriha and Jego'undi clans who live elsewhere, claim the right to hunt on the 'ancestral' land at Aramba. This right is in fact seldom exercised, though the Inonda people say that they have paid visits to Aramba on several occasions in recent years to collect fruits and nuts, and have done a little hunting and foraging during their stay.

During the dry season hunting drives are sometimes held on the Inonda grasslands which are burned off for the [628] purpose. As a considerable number of people are needed to undertake such a drive, neighbouring villages are invited to participate in the hunt.

423 226 621 Fishing rights: For the purpose of fishing rights, the Girua river is divided into sections, each of which is associated with a particular local group. Rights to the section running downstream from a point near the Inonda airstrip are held by the people of Doboduru village. From Inonda airstrip upstream to a point near the new Girua bridge, rights are held by the Inonda people. Upstream from the new Girua bridge as far as Hombere creek, rights are held by the Warau'undi clan and thereafter sections are held by the Ajoro, Sewa and Bofu people respectively. The boundary of each section of the river is also the boundary of the surrounding land.

423 226 614 The Inonda portion of the river is held jointly by the Andiriha and Jego'undi sub-clans and any primary member of either sub-clan may fish there. Men who are secondary or contingent members of the Inonda sub-clans, and the husbands of women who are contingent members, have a limited right to fish in the Girua river, for while they cannot fish there without

423 permission, custom does not permit of permission being withheld
unless the circumstances are exceptional. On two occasions
226 during our stay the river was fished by men married to
614 Andiriha women, and once by a contingent member of the
Andiriha sub-clan who lives at Hohota. No payment is made for
this privilege, not is any part of the catch given to the host
village.

423 On rare occasions Andiriha people from distant
villages have been given the right to fish in the Girua river to
226 obtain food to garnish a forthcoming feast. The procedure is
628 similar to that outlined for hunting under the same circumstances. Adjacent to the Inonda land on the north side of the Girua river is a government resettlement scheme. The settlers, most of whom are strangers to the area, sometimes fish in the river after obtaining permission from the Inonda elders. No direct payment is made but there are indications of other forms of reciprocity between the settlers and the village.

226 Rights to that part of the Sambogo river which flows
423 through Inonda are not held jointly by the sub-clans. There are
five divisions in the river, each of which is held by one or other
614 of the lineages. One particular pool is held by an individual,
613 the sole surviving child of the man who is said to have acquired
[425] rights to it by clearing the adjacent virgin bush and gardening
there. Since the Paru lineage died out the rights to their part
of the river have been taken over by the Joremba'embo. Men
often fish alone, but frequently take other villagers (not
[621] necessarily of the same lineage) to fish with them. When a fish
drive is held during the dry season all the villagers fish
together.

The rights of secondary and contingent members in the Sambogo river are held only in relation to that particular part of it which is associated with the lineage to which they trace their relationship. One permissive member of the Andiriha sub-clan is allowed to fish in either of the places where his daughters' husbands have rights. Small groups of women sometimes fish in places where their husbands' lineages hold rights.

CHAPTER 5 - LIMITATIONS ON PRODUCTIVITY

Features of the tenure situation which inhibit productivity

614 423 578 The overlapping claims of various clans and sub-clans cause uncertainty as to the rights of each, in particular with respect to lands planted with cash crops. To illustrate this point we will quote several examples. During our stay in the village one Inonda man had a temporary job as foreman in a nearby construction camp. Due to completion of a particular phase of the work some workers were dismissed by the European overseer and these included some Tandai'undi men. These men then came to Inonda village and reminded the foreman that Inonda was "their" land and that if he wanted to remain on it, he had better get them their jobs back. This foreman has no cash crops and claims the reason for this to be his fear of trouble with the Tandai'undi. With one exception, nobody has cash crops on Inonda land. The Inonda people dare not take the case to the Lands Commission in case judgement is given in favour of Tandai'undi, in which case the Inonda people could lose all their rights.(1)

614 423 425 578 Those Inonda people who have cash crops in production have planted them on the far side of the Girua river. The land where they are planted was occupied until about forty years ago by the Endehi'undi clan. The Endehi'undi were defeated in war shortly after European contact and the few survivors scattered to various villages where they took up permanent residence. This land was apparently abandoned and not used again until 1952 after the Mt. Lamington eruption when some people of the neighbouring Jau'undi clan of Hohota village cleared the bush and planted food gardens there. After the Mt. Lamington danger passed most of them returned to their home

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(1) The Native Lands Commission in the Territory appears to have awarded title on a basis of historical precedent much more frequently than on current needs or recent arrangements. It would not be surprising if, in the event of a case before the Commission, rights were awarded to the Tandai'undi (in pre-contact times, of course, occupation of the land and the relative strength of the two parties would have been the main criteria).

614 village, but one who was married to an Andiriha woman remained
429 and planted coffee. At his invitation, several Andiriha men
425 from Inonda village planted coffee in the same area. They
518 claimed that as the Endehi'undi had been defeated in war two
generations previously and had not occupied this land since, and as the scattered remnants of the Endehi'undi were long since absorbed into other villages, their rights had lapsed. They maintained that the person who cleared the virgin bush after the Mt. Lamington eruption had valid rights to plant cash crops there, and was entitled to invite his relations to plant there with him. As an additional precaution, however, the first man to plant coffee there obtained the approval of the only member of the Endehi'undi living in Hohota. When another Endehi'undi man from Ururu village was widowed about two years ago, he moved into the household of an Andiriha man who has coffee on this land.

Of course there is no traditional precedent to apply to rights to cash crops, but after the coffee had been planted for nearly a year, some of the Endehi'undi went to the Administration and claimed that the land was theirs, and that as the coffee had been planted on their land without their permission, it was also theirs. An officer of the Department of Native Affairs brought the parties together and it was ultimately agreed that the coffee planters could continue to occupy the land provided that they paid the Endehi'undi for the land. The Endehi'undi were given-about £16 in cash, pigs, traditional valuables and taro. The precise rights transferred by this exchange are not clear, and the participants have differing views as to their respective rights, for the Andiriha consider that they have acquired absolute proprietary rights, whereas the Endehi'undi maintain that they have not disposed of proprietary rights. It is perhaps significant that the Endehi'undi man from Ururu village, who was widowed about two years ago, was taken in to the house of one of the Andiriha men who has coffee on this land.

[657] The Department of Native Affairs has no legal power
[692] to determine land disputes and the arrangement is accordingly

614 not legally binding.(1) In fact, however, the parties to this dis-
423 pute assume that the officer concerned does have the necessary
power to enforce the agreement, and thus it is effective for the
425 present, particularly as it has been reinforced by registration of
657 the land with the council. The Endehi'undi nevertheless intend
692 to re-assert their rights to this land at a later date. When they
find that the existing arrangement is not binding, they may either
578 simply revoke it or apply to the Lands Commission for rein-
statement of their earlier rights.

614 Our third example concerns the Jego'undi sub-clan
of Inonda. Neither of the two adult members of this sub-clan
423 has planted cash crops. One of them had prepared ground for
425 planting cocoa on the site of his former food garden, but his
578 right to do so was questioned by the Andiriha and he abandoned
the attempt. As already explained, the Jego'undi are in a sub-
ordinate position to the Andiriha, and though their ancestor did
contribute to the transfer of gifts at the time the Inonda people
acquired their lands, their numbers are small and their status
is low. Their continued residence in the village is thus depen-
dent on their passive compliance with the wishes of the Andiriha
leaders. They spoke of leaving this village for either of two
other villages to which they are linked by ties of kinship and
marriage, but they are aware that wherever they move their

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(1) Officers of the Department of Native Affairs exercised widespread jurisdiction in land matters (and settled disputes in Inonda) until their power to do so was curtailed as a result of two important judgements. The first was a judgement made on 19th July, 1957, by the Court of Appeal in the case of Busin v. Havini in which it was ruled that although Regulation 59 of the Native Administration Regulations of New Guinea gave magistrates (usually in practice Native Affairs patrol staff exercising their magisterial functions) the power to decide the ownership of land, this power had been repealed by implication by the Native Land Registration Ordinance 1952, which provided that the ownership of customary land in both Papua and New Guinea could only be determined by the Native Lands Commission. This judgement made the situation in New Guinea identical with what it had always been in Papua i.e. that district courts could settle questions of land use but not questions of land ownership. On 8th April, 1960, however, in its judgement in the case Soape v. Wesiki, the Supreme Court held that district courts could not make decisions about land use where such decisions were based on implied assumptions about the ownership of the land concerned. As most decisions about land use are based on assumptions about its ownership, the district courts have generally declined to handle any cases relating to land matters of any sort.

614 position will be insecure.

423
425 The man who resides in the village by virtue of the
578 fact that two of his daughters are married to Andiriha men has been invited to plant coffee in Inonda but he considers the risk of future dispute too great to do so. He is therefore planning to return to his village of origin to plant cash crops and has already begun clearing there.

The one man who has planted cocoa on Inonda land did so, not on his own lineage land, but on that of another lineage which has no adult members at present. But the mother of the children whose lineage holds primary rights to the land has objected strongly and has succeeded in stopping him from expanding his plantings. One other Andiriha man staked out land and planted shade for cocoa, again on the same land of the other lineage mentioned, but has been prevented from planting.(1)

423 Partly as a result of the uncertainty of their tenure
the villagers are again considering shifting the village site.(2)
621 Several possibilities are being considered. Some wish to move
166 to land held by an Andiriha sub-clan which lives at Hohota and
614 which has close links with the Inonda sub-clan. These point
578 out that they have no certainty of tenure for their cash crops
on the existing land, whereas at Hohota there is land which is

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[591] (1) This dispute resulted from the fact that when the last adult member of the lineage died, his wife remarried and her new husband "adopted" her children. Those who moved onto the land reasoned that as the children had been adopted, the local branch of the lineage had died out and the land was available for use by any member of the sub-clan. The mother, on the other hand, claimed that the children would not inherit land from their adoptive father but from their born father. She won her point by threatening to complain to Native Affairs officers who, the villagers said, would undoubtedly have supported her.

[754]
[161] (2) This is not the only reason for moving, and the prevalence of sorcery in the present location is felt to be responsible for the supposed excessive death-rate. (There has in fact been a decline in population from 60 in 1949, to 49 in 1957, 45 in 1960 and 45 today). The Allied Geographical Section (1942, Appendix G) gave the population as approximately 120 in 1942, but the accuracy of this figure is in doubt.

423 the undisputed property of the Andiriha - albeit a different sub-
clan. The occupying sub-clan is said to be agreeable to the
621 shift, partly because one of the Inonda families originates from
166 a lineage of the sub-clan at Hohota. Another alternative is to
614 move to Ajoro, the "home" village of the Tandai'undi clan. The
578 Ajoro people are said to have invited them to come, and to have offered them land on which to plant their food crops. Some felt that residence with the Tandai'undi would reinforce their existing hold on the land they at present use, but others fear that if trouble arose between them and the Tandai'undi they may have to leave.(1)

A further possibility which has been considered is for the village to split - the Jego'undi going either to Mosou to occupy the land given them by their mother's brother or to Urio to join their mother's lineage, the Andiriha who originate from Hohota lineage removing there, and the balance of the Andiriha, who have close kinship links with the Ajoro people, moving there to live. A final possibility is to remove the whole village back near their food gardens at Inonda I. The actual outcome will no doubt depend on the internal relations between villagers and the external relations between this village and the others in the vicinity.

614 The past history of the Inonda lands and the current
423 problems encountered with cash crop planting there indicate that
there are serious tenure problems at the sub-clan level. It
578 appears that the definition of sub-clan or village boundaries and the rationalization of land rights in such a way that only one clan, sub-clan or village has rights in any one area would be
[657] conducive to higher productivity and less dispute. The Native
Lands Commission has the power to define boundaries and
[692] rightholding groups on the application of any of the parties claiming rights in an area. But in fact there is one Native Lands Commissioner for the whole of the Northern District (with a population of 51,000) and he is required to do his own surveying, collection of genealogies and clerical work without

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(1) The people are clearly disturbed by the knowledge that the government survey recorded the Inonda land as "belonging" to the Tandai'undi.

614 429 578 657 692 assistance. The system of investigation followed by the Commission is very detailed, and accordingly in the period of three years since the Commissioner was posted to the district only about five disputes have been settled. Already 34 other cases are awaiting deliberation and many other disputants would take their cases to the Commission if an early decision was possible. Owing to the lack of staff it will probably be many years before they can be heard. The scale of the problem appears to be so vast that it may well be beyond the capacity of the Commission to cope with for many years to come.(1) To overcome the problem in a short time would require either tremendous expansion of the Lands Commission or delegation of authority to deal with such matters to local (and possibly indigenous) tribunals.(2)

614 429 578 692 [627] In the meantime the area is left without adequate machinery for the definition of rights and the settlement of disputes. Indigenous leaders, whether councillors, clan heads or other elders have no legal right to determine disputes, and although they are frequently able to exert social pressure to have their decisions enforced, they cannot apply any legal sanctions. It seems that such decisions are frequently effective within the lineage or sub-clan because the leaders are in intimate contact with the disputants and can apply effective social sanctions. This is much less so with respect to disputes be-

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(1)- Since this article was written, the Native Lands Commission has been joined with the existing Land Titles Commission to form a new Land Titles Commission. The enabling legislation (Land Titles Commission Ordinance 1962) was passed by the legislature in 1962 but was not assented to by the Governor General until April 1963. The new Commission has only seven commissioners to serve the whole of Papua and New Guinea.

(2) This is a widespread pattern elsewhere in the Pacific. For example, in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, the Lands Commission is composed entirely of indigenous members, though the Chief Lands Commissioner (who is an expatriate official) sits with them on appeal cases. The Lands Commission in Fiji is comprised of a commissioner (who is usually a Fijian) and a number of Fijian assessors who are elected for the particular area by the Provincial Council. The Land and Titles Court of Western Samoa is comprised of a President (who is also Chief Judge of the High Court), not less than two Samoan judges and not less than one assessor. In practice, however, it more frequently sits with three Samoan judges and two or more assessors who are usually Samoans.

614 423 578 tween sub-clans or villages.(1)

692 [657] Officers of the Department of Native Affairs are still in some instances able to effect reconciliations or to settle disputes despite their lack of legal powers. This is not only because disputants are sometimes prepared to accept the judgement of a disinterested third party, but also because almost all Orokaiva people we have met are of the opinion that patrol staff do have the power to enforce their "recommendations".
614 423 578 626 754 The fear of sorcery is still recognized as a sanction against transgression of property rights and informants quoted instances of sorcery having been used to punish transgressions of fishing rights. It is a commonplace that where adequate alternative facilities for settling disputes are not available, sorcery tends to increase. Though it is certainly extant in Inonda we have no evidence to indicate whether it is increasing or not.

614 429 The definition of boundaries and owning sub-clans would increase social stability and security of tenure, but in the course of time, due to population increase in some clans and decrease in others, it would become increasingly unrelated to clan needs. It is therefore necessary that any action to define boundaries and ownership should be associated with facilities for the transfer of rights between clans, or between individual members of different clans.

721 425 In the pre-contact era warfare was probably the most important means by which major areas of land were transferred between descent groups, and when warfare is abolished it is essential that alternative facilities for land transfer be provided. In many colonial territories where warfare previously tended to bring land areas into line with population numbers, colonial governments have abolished warfare but have not provided adequate alternative means of transfer, and this invariably leads

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(1) Disputes between sub-clans or villages are sometimes settled by the Executive of the Higaturu Council. They have no legal power to enforce decisions, but they are often able to persuade parties to accept their advice.

657 "(a) ... keep the land clear of all rubbish

423 (b) ... cut down and burn out all diseased plants and trees....

242 (c) ... obey the orders of any Agricultural officer......"

A full-time inspector is employed by the council under the ordinance and a number of persons has been prosecuted for failure to keep their coffee and cocoa gardens cleared.

657
428 The question of inheritance of rights to land registered under the scheme has been raised by the council on a number of occasions, particularly during 1962 when it formed the main topic for debate in a number of meetings (most of which were attended by Unit staff). Most councillors favoured either (a) the nomination by the registered "owner" of a single male heir (usually the eldest son), or (b) the inheritance of the coffee block by all sons either jointly or by subdivision to individuals. In the absence of sons, rights were to devolve on brothers, on
[614] sisters' sons or on daughters' sons. On the other hand, Native Affairs staff who attended the meetings advocated that as the clan as a whole had made the original allocation, the clan as a whole would need to select the heir. There appeared to be inadequate realization of the different nature of the rights held at the levels of the clan and sub-clan, the lineage and the individual. The fact that all members of the sub-clan were required to sign the agreement was merely a written affirmation of a customary allocation made at some previous time. Under Orokaiva custom, once land rights are allocated they are transmitted thereafter in the male line (subject to occupation, the existence of sons and so on). The councillors were merely asking that the rule be based on the existing custom; a custom which seemed to be appropriate to the circumstances. However, the difference of opinion was not really a matter of great consequence as councillors were informed that advice had been received from headquarters in Port Moresby that the council would not be permitted to make any rule on the question.

657
423 The aim of the registration scheme is to promote the planting of cash crops on individual plots with some security of

156 Community leadership

472 Three of the four entrepreneurs are eldest sons and two of them
554 are heads of sub-clans. The third expects to be when the present
(614) holder, his father's younger brother, dies. All four have or had
elective status in the community, in religious, political or eco-
[794] nomic institutions. Three of the four are or have been church
councillors,[1] two have been local government councillors,[2] and
[631] three directors of the Orokaiva Coffee Growers' Co-operative. The extensive time these men give to community leadership (an average of 7.6 hours weekly) contrasts strongly with that of Inonda and Sivepe villagers (0.5 hours).

While the others seem to have been willing to accept leadership roles among villagers, D has declined nomination as a councillor and several other roles and has less contact with village society. This is perhaps due to his being a stranger to this area.

A, B and C claim to have gone to considerable trouble to encourage the people of surrounding villages to engage in cash-cropping. In B's case at least there is clear evidence that this is so. Apart from active encouragement, their enterprises could be expected to have had significant demonstration effects. The fact that villages adjacent to those of the two longest established entrepreneurs, A and B, have a higher number of trees per man than other villages in the census division supports this suggestion.

Demonstration effects, however, appear to be less in the entrepreneur's own village, where he is in all cases envied and resented by many. My impression from living among the Orokaiva is that the prestige of the entrepreneurs increases as one gets further away in a radius of five miles or so (perhaps ten in the case of B) and decreases again thereafter. A and B in particular often accommodate strangers on long journeys on foot, and B has for many years had a special house which is available to any foot traveller. Distant
[574] villagers, returning labourers, children going to and from boarding
school and others from up to fifty miles away stay overnight at B's house. No charge is made, no gift expected or usually given. In fact B, who is widely acclaimed for his hospitality to strangers, usually supplies them with vegetable foods.

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[1] Elected annually, usually one per village. A retired in favour of his eldest son and B retired when the refugees from the Mount Lamington villages (who had elected him) left their temporary settlement near B's coffee plot. He was asked by the village to be their church councillor but declined as he lived outside the village and the role of councillor ideally requires constant attendance in the village.

[2] Elected triennially. Each represents several villages. A retired owing to age. B was defeated.

463 472 Seniority of birth. This seemed to be of positive significance for entrepreneurs who based their operations on cash-cropping (Crocombe 1967:5). It may possibly be of negative significance for traders. Three of the four first-born sons fall into the least successful category and the fourth into the middle category.

[462] Sex. All those in the sample are men with the exception of L, who is the most successful of all. Her elder brothers were killed in the Mt Lamington eruption and she says she is regarded by her father as a son in many respects.

[614] [571] Traditional leadership roles. The only position of traditional leadership recognised today is that of sub-clan head. Only one of the entrepreneurs in the sample (E) was a sub-clan head, one was the son of a sub-clan head and in other cases the relationship was more distant. As most sub-clans contain only about two to ten men, sub-clan leadership seems clearly to give no advantage in trading. It may possibly be an inhibiting factor but we have no evidence on this point.

463 472 571 621 Non-traditional leadership roles. It is to be expected that Orokaiva entrepreneurs will hold responsible and respected positions in their community. The table below shows a positive correlation between entrepreneurial activity and elective community leadership roles. Seven of the twelve subjects hold such leadership roles. A local government councillor represents over 200 people (and one is president of a council serving about 10,000 people). The co-operative chairmen are elected by some hundreds of people and a church councillor represents about a hundred people.

Table 6

Elected positions of responsibility in the community

Elected position of responsibility	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J*	K	L
Local government councillor	'	'			'		'		'			'
Church councillor					'	'						
Chairman of Co-operative					'		'					
President of Women's Club												'
Total	1	1	-	-	3	1	2	-	1	-	-	2

* J has been invited to become chairman of the local co-operative store which he helped to establish.

Subject E, the only clan head in the sample, holds important elective posts as local government councillor, church president, and chairman of a co-operative society. He had also previously held paid positions carrying responsibility and authority and requiring initiative.

> 657 423 (3) Land subject to native custom remains subject to native custom only until it is taken out of custom either by acquisition by the Administration or by a process, to be provided for by ordinance of the Territory, of conversion of title to an individual registered title. (Hasluck 1960:1021.)

Five bills embodying the new land policy were passed by the Legislative Council in 1962-63. The most significant of these from the point of view of the individualisation of tenure were the Land Titles Commission Ordinance 1962 under which the old Native Lands Commission was replaced by the Land Titles Commission, and the Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance 1963 which sets out the procedures to be followed in tenure conversion (see Appendix A). The Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance 1963 was brought into operation on 3 December 1964. It embodied safeguards against fragmentation in that no land which is less in either area or frontage than a certain minimum may be registered, and no more than six persons may be registered as joint tenants or tenants in common of any interest in land.

The five current ordinances relating to land allow village people holding land under customary tenure three alternatives. First, they may continued to hold the land under customary tenure. Second, where a group has undisputed control of a piece of land and desires a more formal recognition of its rights it may secure title under native custom by having the land registered as communally owned under the Lands Registration (Communally Owned Land) Ordinance 1962. Third, individuals or groups of not more than six persons may apply to convert land previously held under customary tenure to individual registered title in accordance with the Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance 1963. This action may only be taken with the approval of all those holding customary rights in the land to be converted, and where all clearly understand that the land is being placed outside the jurisdiction of traditional custom.

Land tenure

423 614 Among the Orokaiva there are no land rights at the tribal level. Each tribe is divided into a number of clans, each of which is further composed of a number of sub-clans, which are usually dispersed over the tribal territory. Each sub-clan holds rights to specific areas of land. Within the sub-clan rights are held by individuals and groups of individuals.

Thus the traditional Orokaiva system was not one of 'communal tenure' and individuals as well as groups held rights to land.[1]

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[1] Ironically, it appears that by registering areas of land as communally owned under the Lands Registration (Communally Owned Land) Ordinance 1962 the Administration is introducing communal holding of land where it did not exist previously.

423 614 This has been documented by recent research carried out in three Orokaiva areas: at Inonda by Crocombe and Hogbin (1963:28), among the Yega by Dakeyne (1965), and at Sivepe by Rimoldi (1966:95).

[361] [241] Under the traditional Orokaiva tenure system most individuals have rights to several pieces of land scattered throughout the area claimed by the clan. Thus an individual often has to walk some distance from one food garden to another and he may have only a small area of land on each plot. These facts were significant in determining the attitudes of the Ombi-Tara people to tenure conversion (see Chapter 3).

An individual is considered to have a presumptive right to clear bush behind his plot in order to extend his planting, without consulting other members of the clan.

423 311 241 476 Clearing of bushland is often a community affair, with the lineage and sometimes the whole sub-clan co-operating, but planting is organised by individual households, with some reciprocal assistance from other households for specific tasks at irregular intervals.

Land use

241 311 The Orokaiva grow their crops using a system of bush fallow rotation - sometimes called shifting cultivation - which is common in many tropical areas. Newton (1960:81) describes it as a system under which land is cleared and cropped for two or three years, after which the cultivator allows it to revert to natural vegetation cover and shifts to a new garden. He may abandon land because depletion and erosion cause declining yields, but in many instances he does so because less labour is involved in clearing new land than in using old gardens where weed and pest species are established. Brookfield and Brown (1963:166) suggest that in the absence of fertilisers, capital equipment and improved techniques of agricultural production, no successful alternative to bush fallow rotation has yet been found for tropical agriculture.

Residence patterns

361 [592] [621] [614] The Orokaiva live in villages but each nuclear family usually occupies a separate house. In pre-contact times villages were large, probably because clan members clustered together for mutual protection (Williams 1928:155). However, in 1928 Williams noted a growing tendency for small groups to form independent settlements. Families sometimes lived 'for weeks at a time in their garden houses...no small distance from the permanent village.... Some families...settle permanently on the site of their distant gardens' (Williams 1928:129).[1] The present fairly large village appears to be a relatively recent return to the pre-contact pattern.

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[1] Native Regulation No.90 of 1922 stated: 'The practice of people abandoning their old homes in settled villages and scattering

Chapter 2

The Ombi-Tara conversion scheme

657 423 631 Two Orokaiva villages, Ombi (also known as Ombiusu) and Tara combined in the Ombi-Tara conversion scheme which was among the first to be promoted in the Northern District under the Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance 1963.[1]

[621] [614] Ombi and Tara contain two clans, Mumu and Kuai. The Mumu clan is concentrated in Ombi village and the Kuai in Tara. However, Ombi has three Kuai households and Tara has one Mumu.

At the time of our stay 178 people were living at Ombi-Tara. There were twenty households in Ombi, nine in Tara, and six on the converted blocks, close to the access road running between Ombi and Tara (see the conversion plan on p.12).[A]

Thirty-five of the forty-one resident adult males had applied or wished to apply for converted blocks; the remaining six were old men who said that they were too old to apply for blocks. Four of them had sons who had applied.

Cash cropping experience of the Ombi-Tara people

249 654 The Ombi-Tara people's experience with cash crops began when they planted some bush rubber seedlings after the first world war. They were encouraged by the Administration under Native Regulation No.121 (Native Regulation Ordinance 1908-30).[2] Although the trees were neglected for some years they continued to grow, demonstrating the suitability of the area for rubber (Mann 1954:35). After some time villagers began tapping the trees and selling the latex to a local planter.

383 654 In mid 1964 the Department of Agriculture suggested that the Ombi-Tara people should process their own latex with hand rollers and coagulating pans at first supplied by the Agriculture Department,

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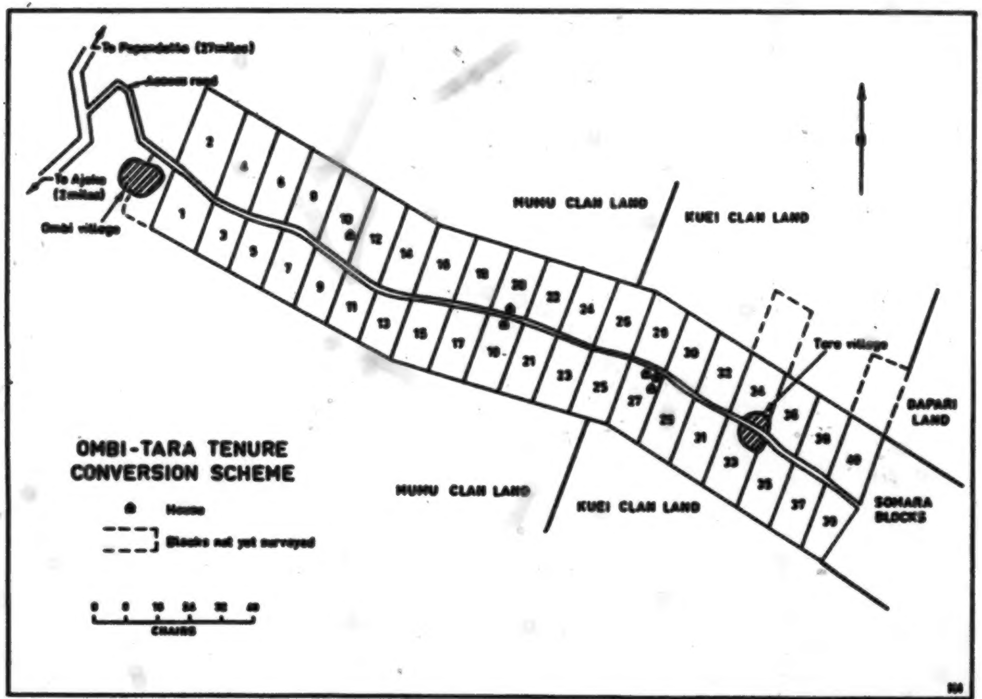
[1] On the Ombi-Tara environment see Appendix B.[B]

[2] On village planting of bush rubber in what was then the Kokoda District see Rimoldi 1966:86-93.

A [See Category 102--Analyst]
B [See Category 133 pp. 49ff.--Analyst]


To Popondetta (27miles)
Access road
To Ajeka (2 miles)
Ombi village
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MUMU CLAN LAND
KUEI CLAN LAND
Tara village
DAPARI LAND
SOMARA BLOCKS
MUMU CLAN LAND
KUEI CLAN LAND
OMBI-TARA TENURE
CONVERSION SCHEME
House
Blocks not yet surveyed
0 8 16 24 32 40
CHAINS

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423
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242 Department of Agriculture. Clonal seedlings for the nursery were
249 obtained from Malaya and from the Agriculture Department's experimental stations at Itikinumu and Bisianumu. Villagers can buy
[654] seedlings at 1 cent per stump.

While the seedlings were growing, several meetings were held in the two villages to discuss how the rubber should be planted. The suggestion of a communal plantation received little support, which is not surprising in view of the recent failure of the communal
[423] cocoa experiment. At these meetings the Agricultural Officer suggested that each man might plant some of the new high yielding
[425] rubber on his own land. He was supported in this by Charles and eventually the people asked for individual blocks of land. There appears to have been no opposition.

657 The history of conversion at Ombi-Tara admirably illustrates Fisk's contention (1964:159) that the personality and character of
177 the administrators, officials, missionaries and other members of
654 the advanced sector involved are often as important to the success of a planned programme of intervention in a subsistence economy as the composition of the programme itself. Although the Agricultural Officer has since left the country he is warmly remembered by the Ombi-Tara people. It is a tribute to his understanding and tact that most of the villagers consider conversion was their own idea.

The significant role played by Charles in gaining the approval of the Ombi-Tara people demonstrates the value when introducing innovations in a rural community of working through an influential member of that community. After studying the introduction of changes in techniques in a Victorian country area, Emery and Oeser concluded (1958:52-3) 'No matter how highly regarded he may be the District Agricultural Officer remains, sociologically speaking, an outsider' and has much greater effect if he works through a local leader. These findings are extremely relevant in Papua-New Guinea where the sociological gap between Agricultural Officer and farmer is far greater than in Victoria.

The new land system

657 The new land tenure arrangements were worked out by the villagers and the Agricultural Officer during late 1963 and early 1964. It
423 was decided that 800 acres of the total area claimed by the two
[311] clans should be converted into forty blocks of twenty acres (see the conversion plan on p.12). Most of the 800 acres was formerly covered with bush and appears to be of relatively uniform agricultural potential.

657 The unconverted land outside the scheme has not yet been surveyed and estimates of its area vary from 2,000 to 4,500 acres. All
423 rights to land held by individuals before conversion have been
425
614

657 423 425 abolished by agreement of the two Ombi-Tara clans,[1] including both rights to the 800 acres which have been converted and to land remaining outside the scheme.

●614 Each twenty acre block is now held under individual registered title by one man, the blockholder. No rights are held in any block by the clans or other entities.

Lands held by members of the Mumu and Kuai clans are still separate, and a large tree stump continues to mark the boundary between them. However, while individuals formerly had some rights in clan land held under customary tenure the land outside the conversion scheme is now held communally by agreement of clan members.[2] The clan leader has control of the unconverted land and his approval must be gained by anyone wishing to cultivate it.

However, each man is considered by the villagers to have the presumptive right to clear the bush on unconverted land behind his block in order to extend his planting as far as the clan boundary. He may do so without consulting the clan leader, and regardless of who held rights to the land under the old system. This right is not recognised in law, and appears to be derived from traditional practice. A similar presumptive right of extension at the rear of one's block was agreed upon by the Yega villagers (Dakeyne 1965:136).

The conversion process

657 423 The Department of Agriculture carried out a preliminary survey of the land to be converted in July and August 1964, clearing bush from what was to be the access road and along the boundaries of the blocks. During December 1964 and January 1965 field staff of the Land Titles Commission, assisted by Department of Agriculture personnel, completed the surveying and marked all corners with cement and wooden pegs.

657 423 425 Thirty-five applications for blocks had been formally lodged up to 9 February 1966 when the Land Titles Commission conducted its hearing. No objections were raised so unless there is an appeal within ninety days, individual title in fee simple would be granted to each of the thirty-five on 9 May 1966.[3] Eight more men wished to apply in the near future. Since only forty blocks were marked out, three of these eight men intended to apply for blocks as yet unsurveyed.

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[1] See p.27 ff for some problems raised.[A]

[2] In law it is regarded as being held under 'customary tenure'.

[3] There were no appeals. Titles had not been issued at the beginning of November 1966, but it was expected that they would be issued soon.

A [See Category 423--Analyst]

Allocation of blocks

657 423 425 The principles applied by the Ombi-Tara people in the allocation of blocks are not clear, but it appears that men tried to get blocks on land in which they formerly held rights. It seems that no single person controlled the allocation of blocks but that each person claimed the block he desired. We were told that two people claiming a single block settled the problem themselves without reference to a third party.

● [614] As far as possible men claimed blocks on land recognised as belonging to their own clan; thus the three men of Kuei clan at Ombi got blocks furthest from Ombi village, about two miles away. One man of Mumu clan was given a block on Kuei land, reportedly because of a shortage of Mumu land. The Kuei clan leader said he was very happy to give him a block on his clan's land because 'we are doing a new thing and we want to be friendly with each other and not fight as we sometimes did before'.

The forty-three blockholders[1] include thirty-five men resident in Ombi and Tara villages; two men each from Ombi and Tara who were absent working for wages; a man of Mumu clan who lives in a neighbouring village but intends to move to Ombi in the near future; two Anglican Mission staff, one a Bishop due to transfer soon from Samarai to Popondetta, the other a priest stationed at Sasembata, about three hours' walk from Ombi;[2] and the Papuan Agricultural Assistant who is stationed full time at Ombi-Tara. None of the last three people has kin ties with any person at Ombi-Tara.

Clearing and planting blocks

249 476 [311] [654] Blockholders began clearing the portion of their blocks nearest the access road soon after the preliminary survey of July-August 1964. For clearing the villagers worked in several groups, with each group spending one or two days on the block of each of its members. The first one year old G.G.I. (Malayan) rubber stumps from the Department of Agriculture nursery were planted in late September 1964. Planting was done by individual householders and their families, with only occasional help from kinsmen. It is traditional Orokaiva practice for clearing of bush to be undertaken by groups of kinsmen but for planting to be carried out at the level of the individual household.

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[1] 'Blockholder' is used for convenience throughout the rest of this paper to refer to the forty-three people who have applied, or intend to apply for blocks.

[2] It is not clear for what purposes these two blocks will be used.

Chapter 4

Effects of conversion at Ombi-Tara

Land use

657 Since conversion the blockholders have each planted an average
423 of three and a half acres of high yielding rubber and some have
cleared a further two or three acres in preparation for further
182 planting.

311 Most households are interplanting their food crops with the
241 rubber seedlings as they say it saves time and effort if all crops
are on one plot instead of scattered as before conversion. Thirteen people reported that they have food crops growing on unconverted land outside their blocks. Six of these had blocks about twenty-five minutes' walk from the village, and have planted some food on clan land closer to home. Three of the others said that they intended to transfer their food crops on to the blocks shortly. Three people reported that they have coffee trees which were planted before conversion growing outside the block.

● [614] The Ombi-Tara people intend to keep the clan land outside the
converted area for use by future generations or by members of the present generation who wish to expand their holdings.

Residence patterns

657 Those people whose blocks are closest to the village have tended
to remain in the village. Those with more distant blocks have
423 either abandoned their village houses and moved to the blocks - six
182 families have done this - or planted some food crops on clan land
[361] close to the village to avoid having to walk long distances to get
food.[1]

[592] The traditional Orokaiva custom of living in single family households has been maintained, with only four of the thirty-five households at Ombi-Tara containing more than one family. In three

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[1] Dakeyne (1965:136) notes that the Yega people moved on to their blocks soon after the Yega conversion scheme began.

657 been at Ombi-Tara, in favour of briefer parties which distract less
423 from market oriented activities.[1]

182 There was verbal evidence at Ombi-Tara of further rejection of
[829] old customs since the introduction of tenure conversion. Informants
often suggested that conversion marks the beginning of a new life - 'Before we were not using our land well but now we are changing everything and we will live better'. Several previous innovations in the Northern District have been greeted in like fashion (see Belshaw 1951:249, and Crocombe 1964a:29-32).

[622] Leadership in the traditional societies of Papua-New Guinea is generally not inherited but achieved through personal excellence
[554] in economic and political organisation and the main activities of the society including a knowledge of land tenure arrangements. It
[614] was decided by the members of the Mumu clan that their clan leader was too old to understand and adapt to the new land system. His son was not considered clever enough to succeed him and eventually the thirty-five year old son of the leader's brother was chosen as successor.

[621] The introduction of tenure changes tends to favour younger men who no longer need to defer to their elders for cash crop land. Tenure conversion at Ombi-Tara may also affect the balance of 'informal' authority in the area by altering the balance of land rights. Before conversion some individuals had rights to consider-
[556] ably larger areas of land than others. This was of some significance in determining status and prestige. Since conversion, each individual has rights to twenty acres of land. The long-term effect of this equalisation on social organisation and informal status and prestige systems may be of some significance.

[614] The functions of the clan leader are little changed by the new tenure system. As before, he has no jurisdiction over land held
[627] by individuals. He previously had limited authority to intervene if one man planted on another's land without permission and under the new system can prevent one man planting behind another's block. He is charged with preventing people from other clans or other areas planting on his clan's land in much the same way as before tenure conversion, with the difference that now his jurisdiction in this matter applies only to the clan land outside the blocks.

Obligations

571 Mutual assistance and mutual obligation patterns provide a system of social security, a form of institutional safeguard

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[1] Similar changes have been reported in another Orokaiva area by Crocombe (1966:71-2) and Hogbin (1966:81-3).

657 423 476 The five work on their blocks in the later afternoons and on weekends and their kinsmen help to clear their blocks while they are absent on road maintenance work.

Some future problems

657 423 177 While the long-run consequences of current alterations in land tenure are always difficult to foresee, some indications of future difficulties at Ombi-Tara may be seen.

Rights to land. Although all individual land rights which existed before conversion in the 800 converted acres have been legally abolished, and all land outside the blocks is held communally,[1] this appears to have been understood and accepted by only a small minority. Each person interviewed was asked if he has any land apart from his block. Thirty-three of the Ombi-Tara people answered in the affirmative, and three more said that although they themselves do not have any land outside the converted area, other people do. Only four people said that they have no land outside the converted area, as all individual rights existing prior to conversion have been abolished and the land outside the blocks is held communally. These four include Charles, one of the clan leaders, and two men who are living on their blocks. There is a wide divergence between the few people who accept the new system of holding clan land worked out with the Agricultural Officer in late 1963 and early 1964, and the many who do not appear to fully understand or accept it. [614] The majority appear to consider that clan land outside the converted area is held under customary tenure, which includes differential individual rights.

The situation is further complicated by the presumptive right of each person to extend his holding by clearing the bush behind his block without consulting the clan leader or other member of the clan. (This right is recognised by the villagers but is not valid in law.)

Several people indicated that they considered they owned the land behind their blocks in the same way as they owned the block, with the difference that the land behind the block had not yet been surveyed. This presumptive right appears likely to cause conflict whether the land outside the converted area is held under customary or communal tenure. It remains to be seen whether all previously existing rights to land will in fact be given up by the villagers, and if this does not occur, what sort of solution will eventually emerge.

At least three of the men absent from Ombi-Tara in outside wage employment have not been contacted since tenure conversion was

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[1] See p.14.A

A [See Category 423--Analyst]

602 Kinship groups are of major importance in
the functioning of village society in New
[619] Guinea. Every individual is a member not
only of a parish but also of groups of closer
[614] kin, a clan, and maybe a lineage. Lacking any
[613] system of payment in cash for services rendered,
602 the villager obtains the assistance of his
relatives for heavy work such as the felling of
464 big trees to make a swidden, dragging a canoe
476 log to the beach, or making a long seine fishing
net. Obligations thus incurred are met
either by reciprocating when asked or by
602 making a gift. The kinship group provides
social stability and in practice the pattern of
311 land use is frequently decided by the senior
241 members of the group. The planting of food
crops by any member, even on land to which he does not control cultivation rights, causes no concern because rights to temporary usage may be easily granted, but the planting of tree crops, which may remain in the ground from thirty to eighty years, is a different matter. Planting tree crops is tantamount to alienating the land for at least a generation and very often some members, at least, of the kinship group object to such long-term use. Even if they do agree to an individual member planting tree crops, there is almost always the assumption that he must share any profit he makes with other members of the group. Individuals who have planted cash crops under these conditions generally become discouraged when they see the fruits of their labours being reaped by kinsmen who contribute little or nothing towards production.

657 In its attempts to stimulate production of
423 cash crops by indigenes, the Administration
has approved a series of land tenure laws, the
177 last and most radical of which was passed in
1964 providing for the registration by indigenes of individual freehold title to land: a measure designed eventually to establish a European system of land tenure throughout the Territory. In the meantime, such measures,
[578] by pitting traditionally conservative
people against the products of modern Western education, are a cause of internal conflict within indigenous society.

632 The establishment of towns, unknown be-
177 fore the coming of Europeans, has forced an
even more drastic adaptation than have the

[P.3-A]

632 changes in rural areas. For a man to leave his
village and go to work in the town means long
177 separation from his family and from his kin,
632 an experience unheard of in the past. Separa-
tion from his relatives means that he may be
464 facing dangerous risks from the sorcery of
602 foreigners in an unknown country. This is one
361 reason why migrant workers tend to live in
kin clusters in the towns. Unemployment, in-
[754] adequate living quarters, low wages, the necessity for paying in cash for all goods and services, and the obligation to send cash gifts to relatives in the villages, all add to the town dwellers' difficulties.

121 The three areas to be studied in this book are:

1. The north coast of Papua, near Popondetta, inhabited by the Yega people.
2. Central Bougainville, near Kieta, inhabited by the Nasioi people.
3. Port Moresby—two indigenous communities.

These three areas have been selected because they are all experiencing rapid change. Moreover, they are areas of actual or potentially great economic development. The stresses and strains put on the traditional way of life in such circumstances are particularly severe; study of such situations may help to give students a deeper appreciation of the problems faced by the people of New Guinea today.

Northern Papua and Central Bougainville are rural areas where the inhabitants have a primarily subsistence economy basically similar to that of their traditional culture, but modified by the innovations introduced by Europeans and latterly by their own educated younger members. There are, however, important differences which are summarised below.

133 *Topography*. Northern Papua is a gently-sloping, almost featureless plain, covered by rain forest interspersed with grassland, traversed by a few braided streams and many small creeks. Central Bougainville is mountainous with peaks up to 7,000 feet above sea level. Steep, tree-covered slopes, rocky outcrops, and rushing streams which rise rapidly after rain are typical features.

614 *Social*. The social structure of the Yega is
localised patrilineal clans, sub-clans, and line-
613 ages, inhabiting a few square miles of land.

[P-3-B]

● 614 423 000 No male member of a Yega clan has any rights whatsoever to land outside the consolidated block of parish territory. All Nasioi, on the other hand, are members of widely dispersed matrilineal clans. Many of them, both men and women, have rights to cultivate land far from their village of residence. For a Nasioi, the focus of loyalty is not the clan as a whole but the small segment of it with which he (or she) is intimately associated, in the parish where he lives.

177 [245] 241 433 [464] 000 The degree to which contact with Europeans has affected each group differs greatly. The Northern District of Papua where the Yega live is the scene of recent rapid development in cocoa planting by both Europeans on large plantations and by indigenes on small-holdings. The Yega are a relatively well-educated group of people but they have a record of failure in the production of cash crops. Many of the younger Yega have therefore left the parish territory to work for wages in skilled and semi-skilled jobs in the towns. Fewer Nasioi go to work in the towns but many have worked locally as plantation labourers. Recently copper has been discovered within their territory and now many men work for the mining company which offers higher

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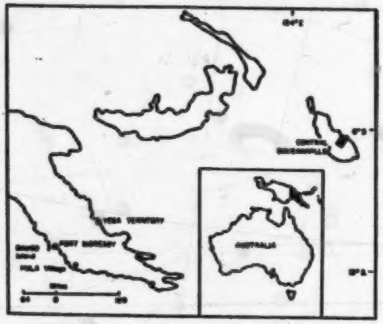

Fig. 1. Location of the three case studies

[P.4-A]

619
423 a Land Titles Commissioner today has the
578 difficult task of adjudicating the rival claims
of two or more groups to the same areas of
692 forest land; each group can, moreover, produce
657 men who can point out the trees marked
by their ancestors and each group is convinced that they alone are in the right and the others merely conniving liars, who will use any methods to steal the land. The intensity of feeling which people generate over land became evident one day when I attended a meeting called by the Land Titles Commissioner to discuss rights to a small area between the Yega and a neighbouring parish. As my Yega friends and I left at the conclusion of the meeting we came on a group of Yega men in the bush fifty yards from the meeting site; they had prepared a supply of sharpened 8 foot poles 'just in case', they said, 'the others started a fight over the land!' Doubtless the other side was similarly prepared.

614 The Yega parish is composed of eight named,
613 exogamous, localised clans most of which are
divided into sub-clans and lineages; descent is
[619] patrilineal. On marriage, a girl leaves her
father's house and goes to live in the house
591 provided by her husband; in past times the
couple invariably went to live in the same
178 village as the husband's father, but nowadays
the rules have been greatly relaxed. Each clan
614 has a different totemic emblem which serves
as a kind of trademark. If the totem is an
784 animal or edible plant it may not be eaten
for food.

614 An abbreviated table illustrating the Yega
social structure is given in Table 1.
613 [P.6-B]

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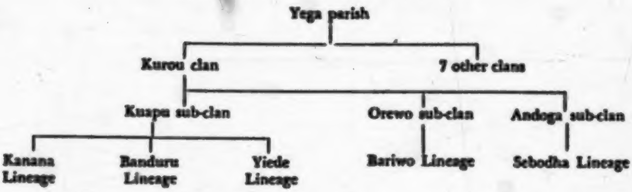
613

TABLE 1
Abbreviated outline of Yega social structure


Yega parish
Kurou clan
7 other clans
Kuapu sub-clan
Orewo sub-clan
Andoga sub-clan
Kanana Lineage
Banduru Lineage
Yiede Lineage
Bariwo Lineage
Sebodha Lineage

[P.6-C]

LAND TENURE

614 Each clan controls some areas of mature rain
423 forest, some of secondary forest, and some of
grassland. Only the secondary forest is regarded
as valuable garden land. The mature
rain forest is potential garden land of the
future, and grassland is unimportant, except
for hunting. Clan land-holdings are fragmented
within the confines of Yega territory. This
pattern can be explained partly by the social
system of land use and partly by the history
of Yega expansion inland from the coast. The
613 members of different lineages belonging to the
same clan normally combine to clear areas of
476 rain forest by communal labour. When the
423 work is completed the land is divided among
the lineages which helped clear it. This is
614 the origin of the pattern of large continuous
strips of land belonging to one clan, but
423 sub-divided amongst the sub-clans and lineages
[613] of that clan as shown in Fig. 3. The
commonly elongated shape of clan holdings is
the result of continuous clearing in one direction
by a group of kinsmen talking and joking
as they worked and thus keeping close together.
614 The small enclaves of land shown
within the general Kurou clan area but belonging
602 to other clans (Fig. 3) may be explained
by affinal relationships. At various
423 times the Kurou men cutting down the forest
gave permission to some men of other clans,
who had married Kurou women, to work with
them. These affinal kinsmen thus acquired
[428] cultivation rights to small pieces of land,
which have been inherited by their descendents.
The first areas cleared were close to
the coast; as population increased and more
land was required, the inland forests were
cut down in the manner described above.

241 Rights to cultivate land are controlled not
by the clans but by the lineages; in each lineage
423 the oldest member living in the parish
613 territory has the authority to say which land
shall be cleared for gardens and how the work
[614] is to be organized; fragmentation is thus reduced.
In practice, however, many lineages are
numerically small and the sub-clan head coordinates
the work of members of the lineages

[P. 7-A]

241 is maintained today because, the Yega say,
423 it makes the work lighter if you have someone
613 to gossip with, and to share a watermelon or
a smoke during rest breaks. The effect is that,
at any one time, many people of a sub-clan
are using land to which they do not hold cultivation
rights.

241 The granting of temporary rights to plant
423 a food crop is normal procedure. A right-holder
frequently grants such rights to affinal
[602] kin of a different clan or even to an affinal
[614] kinsman from a neighbouring parish. An outsider
granted such a right would *never* consider
[431] that he had any permanent right to Yega
land. He would simply give the right-holder a
[426] gift or, if asked, would lend land in return.

226 The Yega are coastal people and expert
fishermen. Fishing is an exclusively male
[462] occupation and fish have always been an
important food. Eleven reefs are known by
226 the Yega to exist off their strip of coast; rights
423 to fish over these reefs are held by the clans
whose ancestors first discovered them. Any
614 person who catches fish over a reef belonging
[431] to another clan must give a gift from his catch
to the right-holders. Fish are caught by many
different methods but the commonest nowa-
(199) days is by skin-diving with a home-made spear
gun and goggles made in Hong Kong.

SUBSISTENCE GARDENING

241 The Yega gardening routine is similar to the general procedure described earlier. The main features are universal inter-planting of a wide range of food plants and a shifting-field system which provides a continuous supply of fresh vegetable food. Some special features of Yega agriculture are worth noting. These are:

a) *The shifting-field cycle*. The average
241 length of the fallow period for twenty-one
242 swiddens investigated was 7·4 years. Such a
figure is apt to be misleading. It tends to give the impression that New Guineans are much more organized than in fact they are. Some swiddens were fallowed for as little as two years . . . 'because my brother made his garden over there and I wanted to work near him!', while others had been left as long as thirteen years . . . 'because the soil isn't very good in this place.' Human factors as well as physical

[P.8-B]

353 *tapa* cloths, also worn on ceremonial occasions;
often nowadays mother's best dress and
[415] father's best shorts and shirt are also kept in
this box. Everyday tools—fishing spears, pig
spear, bush knife, and axe—are stored between
the floor joists under the floor platform. A
[372] bundle of dry firewood may be stored under
the house in case of a prolonged spell of wet
[227] weather. The dwelling of each clan fishing-leader
is easily recognized by the large seine
net hung to dry under the eaves or rolled in a
corner of the verandah.

342 The Yega build one other form of dwelling,
a garden shelter (*dobo*) usually roughly constructed
with leaf walls, frequently open at
one end and often so low from floor to roof
that a person cannot stand erect in it. A *dobo*
is a temporary dwelling, built near the swidden
in current use, and used by a man and his
family for up to a week at a time while they
are working in their gardens, which may be
three or four miles from the village. The *dobo*
is also used to shelter from rain or to take a
siesta during shorter, one-day visits to the
garden.

343 A *gaga* is simply a talking platform where
men sit for a chat, a chew (of betelnut) or a
[461] smoke during siesta time, or after the day's
work is done. There is usually at least one
[614] *gaga* for each clan in a village. The *gaga* performs
[627] an important social function for it is
here that quarrels are settled, marriages arranged,
[584] and the everyday problems and business
of the village discussed and finalised.

291 Everyday clothing is a pair of shorts and
maybe a shirt or a singlet for boys and men,
and a cotton dress or skirt for girls and women.
[287] The traditional body covering for both men
and women was beaten out bark-cloth of the
paper mulberry tree. This is used throughout
[171] the Pacific and is known as *tapa*. *Tapa* skirts
and loin cloths are still worn on special occasions,
such as weddings and New Year sing-sings,
while many older people wear *tapa* to
323 church on Sundays. The Yega and their neighbours
are expert tapa-makers but they did not
[289] have either the suitable clay or the art of potmaking.
They used to trade their *tapa* for pots
439 from Ambasi, thirty miles to the north, and
from Wanigela, 100 miles to the south. This
[178] trade has now declined because everybody can

[P 11-A]

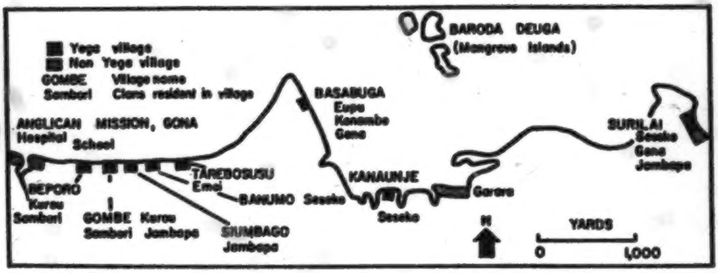
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 12-A]

361
173 coral sand and lumps of dead coral. Although
[133] there are mangrove trees on the islands, there
would be no possibility of growing food crops
there. At some time well before the arrival of
white men, the Yega moved from Baroda
Deuga and founded a large village, Basabuga,
on the eastern shore of Wasusu Point. In
Basabuga each clan was allocated a specific
[614] area in which family heads built their homes.
Probably there were only three original clans,
but these were joined at intervals by the ancestors
of the other five clans who now make
up the Yega parish. Basabuga is in an ideal
defensive site, protected on the landward side
by mangrove swamps to the south-east, and
on the south-western side by swamp filled depressions
running parallel to the beach. The
sea provided an escape route to the north.

361 By about 1910 when the first school was
begun at Wasusu Point, some clans had
[871] moved eastward or westward and settled in
other coastal villages. In each village the male
361 members of a clan lived together with their
wives and children, and although there was
614 a good deal of inter-clan contact, the clan
village was the main social unit. The main
reason for the dispersal of clans from Basabuga
was probably population pressure but the enforced
cessation of inter-parish warfare undoubtedly
contributed. The movement westward
361 along the beach continued until about
1930. People were encouraged to move by the
increasing effectiveness of Government control
[657] and by the establishment at Gona Mission of
[797] a school and hospital staffed by Europeans.

[P.12-B]

102
361
131
614
797


Yega village
Non Yega village
GOMBE Village name
Sambori Clans resident in village
ANGLICAN MISSION, GONA
Hospital
School
BEPORO
Karau
Sambori
GOMBE Karau
Sambori Jambapa
TAREBOSUSU
Emoi
BANUMO Seseko
SIUMBAGO
Jambapa
BASABUGA
Eupu
Konombo
Gona
KANAUNJE
Seseko
Garara
BARODA DEUGA
(Mangrove Islands)
SURILAI
Seseko
Gona
Jambapa
N
YARDS
0
1,000

[P-12-C]

Fig. 9. Settlement pattern of the Yega in 1950

102
361
●614
491
245
797

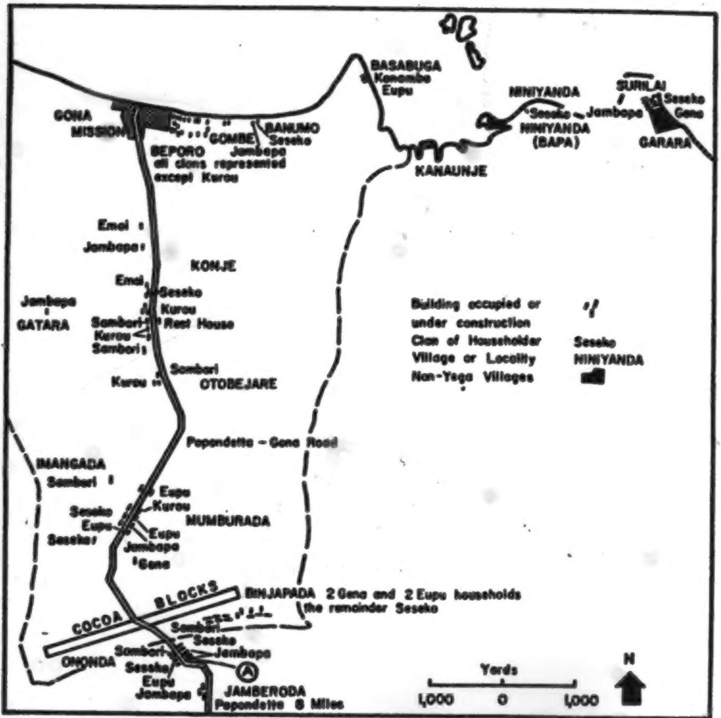

BASABUGA
Konembo
Eupu
NINIYANDA
Seseko
Jambopa
SURILAI
Seseko
Gona
NINIYANDA
(BAPA)
GARARA
KANAUNJE
GONA
MISSION
GOMBE
BANUMO
Seseko
BEPORO
Jambopa
all clans represented
except Kurou
Emoi
Jambopa
KONJE
Emoi
Seseko
Kurou
Jambopa
GATARA
Sambori
Rest House
Kurou
Sambori
Sambori
Kurou
OTOBEJARE
Building occupied or
under construction
Clan of Householder
Village or Locality
Non-Yega Villages
Seseko
NINIYANDA
Popondetta - Gona Road
IMANGADA
Sambori
Eupu
Kurou
Seseko
Eupu
HUMBURADA
Seseko
Eupu
Jambopa
Gona
COCOA BLOCKS
BINJAPADA 2 Gona and 2 Eupu households
the remainder Seseko
Sambori
Seseko
Sambori
Jambopa
ONONDA
Seseko
Eupu
Jambopa
A
JAMBERODA
Popondetta 8 Miles
Yards
1,000
0
1,000
N

Fig. 12. *Settlement pattern of the Yega in 1964, showing recent dispersal of the population and the break-down of clan-based villages. House marked "A" is ringed in Fig. 11*

[P.14-A]

474 January 1951. The failure of this scheme
emphasises the important role of the individ-
241 ual leader in any innovation in New Guinea.

An important modification to the residen-
474 tial pattern resulted from the Agricultural Co-
177 operative. Not only was co-operation practised
in the gardens but co-operative theory was
571 preached as a Christian ideal in the churches
and taught in the schools and training colleges
797 of the Anglican Mission. The teachers em-
phasised the practical advantages of living in
a large community; for example, co-operative
labour could be easily organized, social clubs
could function more readily and school,
church, and hospital would be more readily
accessible to the majority. Most Yega accepted
361 this view and, during 1953, many of them re-
177 built their houses in a planned rectangular
village, Beporo, close to the mission station
(Figs. 4, 12). Here there was a tendency for the
361 household heads of each clan to group their
177 dwellings together and to maintain the same
inter-clan relationships as had existed in the
571 smaller villages. Nevertheless, there was a
breakdown in the previously tight social con-
614 trol over the location of dwellings. Some men
602 exercised this freedom by building away from
their clansmen but near to their wives' kin and
in some instances even sharing a dwelling with
them.

Since 1960, seven new inland villages have
361 been established along the road leading from
Gona mission to the town of Popondetta. This
movement inland from the coast was initiated
361 by the development of a cocoa-planting pro-
245 ject which is without doubt the most signifi-
cant change in land use to have occurred yet.
(311) In 1960 the old wartime road between Gona
[491] and Popondetta (actually the last stage of the
Kokoda Trail) was re-opened by the efforts of
[797] the Anglican missionary living at Gona. It
gave access to land at Ononda which in the
opinion of the District Agricultural Officer
(DAO) was suitable for cocoa. As the Yega
245 had previously made enquiries about planting
654 cocoa, the DAO now advised them to clear a
large area of rain forest and plant their cocoa
in a continuous strip, which would then be
sub-divided into individual blocks, rather than
in the small scattered plots which is the usual
pattern of indigenous cash crop plantings.

245 By a fortuitous circumstance, the land selected
423 was regarded by all Yega as communal
hunting land. It had belonged in the past to
[614] the Bowori clan, but when they were wiped
out in inter-parish warfare it had never been
[726] re-allocated among the remaining clans. Nobody,
therefore, had to be compensated for
245 the loss. The Yega followed the DAO's advice
and over the next two years cut down a large
654 area of forest and planted shade trees and
657 young cocoa. In order to supervise this work,
the Agriculture Department built a small
village at Ononda to house a field instructor
and a group of trainees.

245 Many people came to believe that their
433 future prosperity lay in the development of
cash cropping. As the cocoa blocks were a long
361 walk (four miles) from their homes in Beporo
village, many decided to move inland; this
245 was a rational decision. An additional incentive
[484] was the development of the weekly market
at Popondetta. With the rapid growth of the
[443] town since 1960 there has been an increasing
361 demand for fresh fruit and vegetables. Many
Yega have taken advantage of this to sell surplus
443 produce for cash. Residence in the inland
438 settlements reduces the distance from the market.
By 1964, over half the population was
living in the new villages.

361 In addition to the dispersal of population,
the breakdown of traditional clan groupings
178 continued. The inland settlements are all
numerically smaller than Beporo and in all of
614 them the old homogeneity of clan membership
has disappeared. A man chose his house site
for convenience and access to his place of
work, rather than on the basis of his kinship
ties.

361 The most radical change occurred in the
establishment of Binjapada village. It is a
collection of fourteen households, spread for
over half a mile, along a narrow strip of grassland.
361 Six of the occupants had been allocated
cocoa blocks in the near vicinity and four of
423 these men attempted to locate their houses on
the projected extensions of their cocoa blocks;
this represents the beginning of a dispersed
pattern of settlement foreign to the Yega tradition
of clan-based clusters of dwellings. As no
boundary surveys were carried out, one man
located his house on his neighbour's block.

[P. 15-B]

CORRESPONDENCE

Virgin birth

SIR,

121 [114] The contributions by Spiro and Kaberry in your June issue (3, 242–61, 311–13) and the continuing correspondence (3, 651–6) prompt me to mention briefly the views on physiological paternity held by the Orokaiva of Papua, as explained to me when I was doing fieldwork there in 1966–1967.

842 [775] The Orokaiva believe that a child is conceived when the spirit of a dead kinsman wishes to enter a new human body. If a newborn child is a male, it is believed to have been formed as the result of sexual congress between the father and mother both of whom have contributed 'blood'. The birth of the male child is, therefore, explained by a combination of two events, the entry of the spirit and sexual intercourse. If a newborn child is a female it is believed to have been formed by 'a woman sleeping alone', i.e. the female child is not thought to have a human genitor. While this theory leaves open the possibility of 'virgin birth', Orokaiva notions about the development of the embryo go against it. The growth of the embryo must be stimulated by frequent sexual intercourse. A spirit is said usually to choose a sexually active woman for its rebirth.

553 842 The customs concerning the naming of children are consistent with this theory. The naming of girls is always left to the mother's consanguines as the spirit which entered her is thought to belong to a deceased maternal consanguine. The naming of boys is more complicated as the question arises whether the spirit entered the mother and thus fertilised her, or entered the father and passed from him to the mother. In the former case, it is presumed that the spirit was a dead consanguine of the mother; naming is then entrusted to the mother's consanguines. In the latter case, it is presumed that the spirit was a dead consanguine of the father whose kinsmen are accordingly entrusted with the naming ritual. About half of the male babies are, according to my records, named by maternal relatives, and half by paternal ones. 851 ● [614] A medicine man (*sivo embo*) is called in to determine to whose side the spirit of a male baby belongs. Both the male and the female babies become part of the paternal clan (the Orokaiva are patrilineal). If a man has paid bridewealth for a woman, he is pater to all the children borne by that woman as long as the

851 marriage is in force; he is, in addition, considered to be the genitor of all her male offspring though not her female offspring.

842 It is obvious that the Orokaiva know the 'basic fact' that when a man and woman have sexual intercourse, the birth of a child often follows and that the latter, in common experience, does not occur unless preceded by the former. The recognition of this fact does not impel them to adopt a genuine 'theory of physiological paternity'; their basic theory remains that of spirit entry which is deemed essential to the conception of all
842 children, whether male or female. The notion of physiological paternity is introduced only
562 to solve a somewhat different problem: why the sexes differ in physiology and legal status. The answer runs as follows: the male is believed to have a special quality (*ivo*), not shared by the female. This is a strength or power enabling the male to play his distinctive roles and it is transmitted by a man to his son in the 'male blood' which enters the mother in intercourse. This is the *ivo* of the lineage. As women do not receive this type of blood, they cannot carry on the lineage: filiation is patrilateral. Having only the 'weaker' blood of their mothers, they become women.

842 Leach's essay on 'virgin birth' does a good deal to illuminate the Orokaiva case. The Orokaiva, like Christians and the people of ancient Mediterranean societies, believe that some births are the consequence of sexual congress whereas others are not. Both cultures have a further theory according to which some children may be conceived by a 'woman sleeping alone'. Furthermore, both systems explain conception in these circumstances by a spirit entering a woman and fertilising her.

●614 Now, as I understand Leach, in all quoted cases of parthenogenesis, a great social distance
182 separates a father of egregious status from a mother and maternal lineage of much lower status. In some of the quoted cases, the offspring inherits the father's high status while in others, the offspring remains (as in the Trobriands) in the lower 'stratum' of the mother. The somewhat unusual Orokaiva case fits this pattern quite well. Woman is not destined to stay in the clan but to be abducted or to elope and settle elsewhere, but her children will always covet the clan's land and her brother who is expected to love her is

614 not unlikely to meet her request. Her brother's children will fear her constant demands and 182 her threats of sorcery. Her actual power is so great that a religious construct, proclaiming her social distance from the men of the clan, and making her look low and insignificant, may help somewhat to keep the embattled [842] clan patrimony together. It is therefore tempting to treat Orokaiva parthenogenesis theory as offering further evidence for the tension between patrilateral and matrilateral kin, though this tension could be demonstrated more easily by less esoteric means.

114 The Orokaiva case makes one wonder just what constitutes 'knowledge of physiological paternity'. Leach writes about 'basic 171 facts of physiological paternity' (1967: 41) 842 which anyone but an idiot would know. On the other hand, Spiro speaks of a 'theory' and compares 'physiological paternity' to the 'heliocentric universe' (1968: 244)—the latter was a theory that man did not have until the fifteenth century. Spiro does not quite indicate at what point in time mankind obtained 'knowledge' of the former theory, but he evidently thinks it was well before the birth of Jesus. I am not sure just how Spiro would classify the case of the Orokaiva: are they 'ignorant' of physiological paternity or not? Are they less ignorant than the Trobrianders but more ignorant than the Dobuans (who do not believe in virgin birth at all)? Do not all these groups derive their theory on this subject in precisely the same way, namely in the context of a metaphysical cognitive system? It seems to me that a significant difference between the Melanesians and modern man, if it exists at all, does not lie in the substantive content of their theory of physiological paternity, but in the capacity of modern man to show by empirical evidence that the Trobrianders are wrong, the Dobuans right and the Orokaiva in between. As for the contemporaries of Jesus, they seem to resemble the Melanesians rather than modern man, in that they had no such empirical evidence.

121 I think that in primitive thought we should distinguish between empirical generalisations, which may often imply no more than a rough statistical correlation, and deductive theories [813] implying causal connexions. It is notorious that primitive thought will easily move from [824] the former to the latter, as the Orokaiva do, for instance, when they note that *tauga* leaves fall while the main taro crop is coming up and postulate that it is the dropping *tauga* leaves that cause the crop to prosper. There is no reason to believe, however, that the Orokaiva *invariably* make a causal theory out of an empirical correlation and they may even omit to do so where modern thought would applaud such a step. A person may 'know' as

177
436
583 The clearest example of this was in the computation of bride price. As I mentioned, the Sivepe people, in calculating the value of bride price, translated all gifts of trade goods (clothes, kitchen utensils, etc.) into money terms, speaking of a bride price of 72 pounds when the actual cash component was only $28. (The word "dollar" is well-known to Orokaiva but as yet imperfectly accepted in discourse as a unit of value.) Inonda, however, in calculating the value of bride price, went further and converted also the pigs, valuables and tapa cloths into money terms, as was described in Hogbin, 1966. Upon inquiring specifically whether the Inonda people calculated bridewealth in this way, I found that Hogbin's presentation corresponded with the Inonda method of estimating. In other words, Inonda people spoke of a 100-pound brideprice, when the actual gifts were as follows:

Cash	$ 80.00
Household goods	13.00
Pig	60.00
Bark-cloth	9.75
Food	10.60
Traditional valuables	28.20
Total	$201.55

Sivepe people expressed some horror at the thought that this should be referred to as a $200 bride price; to them the gifts of pig, bark-cloth, food and traditional valuables were gifts of a special type that could not be equated with money. I asked one informant whether this was perhaps a modern trend; "not modern but silly," he replied.

177
184 This reply reminds us how hazardous it is to place a number of phenomena, found in different villages, on a unilinear kind of acculturation continuum. Nonetheless, I believe that the facts show some tendency for Sivepe to be more "acculturated" than Inonda, even though the differences are slight, and apply only to part of the Inonda population.

Section 12: Impact of External Influences on Community Organisation

184
621 One of the difficulties of our research design is that Sivepe and Inonda are of different population size, Sivepe having exactly three times the population of Inonda (135: 45). Hence, the community organisation of the two villages would naturally differ for that
[614] reason alone. A second difference lies in the clan composition of the two villages and the changes in clan composition over the period under consideration. Pamba contained three clans: Seho, Jegase and Timumu and modern Sivepe still contains roughly the same family alignment except that the members of the Timumu clan are now calling themselves

184 Jegase, thus making Sivepe basically into a two-clan village, into
which some recent Garombi immigrants remain to be integrated. Inonda,
621 in 1951, consisted of 13 houses of which nine were inhabited by
614 Andiriha, three by Jego-undi and one bachelor's house. In 1966,
there were only seven houses, only one of which was occupied by
Jego-undi. Hence, Inonda has almost ceased to be a two-clan village
today.

571 I have written at length about modern Orokaiva leadership
elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1967) and shall do little more here than summarise.
the conclusions already published. The scope and range of Orokaiva
leadership has always been small, except for the heads of extended
families (okose) who had a very wide scope of authority. Each village
had a set of experts who had unquestioned authority in their sphere
of expertise. Examples are the medicine man, the hunting expert,
[554] dancing expert and some others. One of these experts, the feasting
expert, is in fact the man of highest status in the clan or village
[622] and may be called its leader. A clan leader may take responsibility
for such corporate actions as a modern clan performs, e.g., raise
[614] bride price for one of its members. Except in these circumscribed
situations, he is esteemed and respected rather than obeyed. The
village leader, in a multi-clan village, is usually the leader of
the largest clan. In dealings with other villages, he is the man to
whom most respect must be paid; it is here, and when acting as a
feasting leader, that he most closely approaches the role of power-
bearer. Even so, the Orokaiva word for "feasting leader" is pondo
kiari embo, i.e., feasting expert, and in explanation of his role
informants always stress that it is based on expertise rather than on
a more diffuse concept of status. I also found, after inquiring in
Inonda, Hohorita and seven villages in the Sasembata district, that in
fact the fathers of all these feasting leaders had occupied the same
positions. Nonetheless, informants always denied that the office
was inherited; rather, the fact of succession was explained by the
transmission of the necessary knowledge from father to son.

621 Australian domination added at once the role of village constable
to this somewhat acephalous pattern. One gathers from Monckton that
622 the village constable was chosen on the assumption that he had been
625 the traditional leader. How often that assumption was justified I
do not know. In Inonda, he certainly was the Andiriha clan leader.
614 In Sivepe, the situation was more complex. Until about 1939, Sivepe
had no village constable of its own, but an Awala man was village
constable for a wide area centred on Awala and including Sivepe. The
first and only Sivepe village constable was a man now baptised under
the name of Samuel but then called Jovareka. Jovareka appeared as
witness to prove the innocence of two Sivepe men (from the Seho clan)
who had been accused of murdering a small boy from Awala. He showed
successfully that the village constable had trumped up a charge against
the two Sivepe men and the government appointed Jovareka village
constable in his place. Later, Jovareka's area was reduced to a more

621 manageable size. Jovareka was definitely not a hereditary leader in
Sivepe; in fact, he was not even born there. On the other hand, the
622 two men he saved belonged to the leading family of the Seho clan,
625 which is the dominant clan of Sivepe. In the circumstances, the law
of reciprocity demanded that the Seho clan backed Jovareka as a suitable
614 man to be village constable. His status was accordingly greatly
enhanced.

625 The scope of his role, however, may easily be exaggerated.
According to Samuel, he was put through a course of training of one
day. He was told about how to take a case to court and how to get
and give evidence. He was told not to belt anybody, but handcuff
them. He had to check that houses were built properly, that sago
roofs were replaced and lavatories built. He also had to see that
the men cut the grass in the village and the women swept, and that
the road built by the government was properly maintained. Each
village had its own stretch of road to look after, and this was subdivided
into sections for each of the men. This summary tallies
[364] with the statements of other informants. We note that some of the
included items (such as the women sweeping the village, the replacement
of old sago roofs) are traditional activities and hardly required
police supervision. Other of the included items, such as the building
of lavatories, remained a dead letter until after the eruption, and
it was not until 1965 that all houses actually had lavatories.
[791] Furthermore, it is only now, with the fear of sorcery diminishing under
the impact of Christianity, that anyone would dare to use a lavatory.

I asked Samuel whether he had ever handcuffed anyone or had
anyone jailed. No, he had never used the handcuffs. He had never
brought anyone from Sivepe to court. He had sent people from other,
surrounding villages to court. Tax was never collected past Sangara
in his day, he said, implying that his record would not have been so
serene if he had had to collect the head tax. Two Sivepe men had
actually been taken to court during his period of office, but not by
him; it was done by a visiting patrol, for not tending the roads, but
they were let off as they had just returned from a period of plantation
work. Other Sivepe informants told me that the village constable made
little difference to the way of life of the people and this must, I
[627] think, be conceded. Nonetheless, Samuel was evidently called in as
a mediator in quarrels in other villages and due to his influence,
some cases went to court.

The evacuation camp seems to have placed a heavy burden on the
625 village constables as they were the middlemen between government and
731 the village people, responsible for the distribution of food and
supplies and the setting up of village organisation in the camp. The
camp consisted in fact of a number of villages, closely together, in
which the village constable was much more in charge than he ever had
been. Permission to go back to the home area to check whether possessions
had remained undisturbed and to collect food, also had to be
given through the village constable who was put in charge of all such

794 organised contact. After each Sunday service, a meeting of the church
council is held at the church, presided over by the pastor, at which
the needs of the parish are discussed. The pastor may also call
[431] meetings during the week. No payment is ever made for work done for
the church, but the pastor has on occasion made a small distribution
of tobacco, at which the people were very pleased. Much of the burden
falls on the member of the church council for each of the villages.
[623] While the after-service meetings at the church are open to all church
members, the council has its own meetings and the member for the village
has an especially close relationship with the church. It is he who
calls together the people in the morning when building work is to be
done, or who makes other announcements, in the usual way by standing
in front of his house in the evening and speaking in the dark, heard
by everyone in the houses.

614 This man belongs to the plant emblem group baptised in the early
1950's, but interestingly enough he did not, like most of the early
613 converts belong to the Jegase clan. Plant emblem groups (or lineages)
794 are not necessarily segments of a clan and in this case the sasaha
plant emblem group includes a few Seho people, who were baptised with
the rest of their lineage. It was one of these Seho men who was
chosen as church councillor, the choice being reportedly made by the
[224] pastor himself. Shortly before my arrival in Sivepe, this man was
given the office of hunting expert. Previous to this, every clan had
had its own hunting expert, but now this church council member was the
only one. The task of the hunting expert is the performance of magic
prior to a collective hunt, decision of the time and place and the
privilege of being the first man who enters the bush, together with
his wife, for hunting. "What kind of magic does Dunstan perform?"
I inquired. He invites the pastor down to the village and the pastor
blesses the guns and other appurtenances of the hunt, while the old
magic is no longer performed. In the neighbouring village of Sasembata,
I found that this innovation had not been adopted.

794 In Inonda, all religious organisation was in the hands of the
transport driver and one-time councillor, who played the role of lay-
184 preacher on Sundays, using as a chapel a building originally intended
for the storage of coffee. Church was attended by the Christian half
of the village but I saw no Christian activities apart from the weekly
service. The mission teachers and the Anglican school were located
at Hohota, three miles away from Inonda. Most of the modern organisation
roles noted for Sivepe were, in fact, found at Inonda but every one of
them was allocated to the same man, the transport driver. He acted as
"committee;" he made the kind of speeches that were made in Sivepe by
the councillor and the sanitary inspector (these functionaries very
rarely came to Inonda); he was middleman for the mission; he was
agricultural entrepreneur and his father was the feasting leader,
leaving to him the day-to-day organisation of the feast given in June,
1967. The price for this far-reaching centralisation was a lack of
participation in most of the activities by at least half the population,
whereas participation was far more general at Sivepe.

361 Comparing Inonda and Sivepe, we notice that Inonda follows more closely the spatial arrangements that are considered ideal for modern villages, but that Inonda has remained static in size for a number of decades. Sivepe shows irregularities in spatial arrangement, but has rapidly increased in size in accordance with Australian ideas of village development. The fusion of 1948 doubled its traditional size, while a lineage and a local clan group were added since. These increments have as yet been imperfectly absorbed.

Section 3: Social Groups

621 Within a village, two kinds of kinship group larger than the
elementary family may be distinguished, namely the *javo wahai* (clan)
592 and the *hae* (lineage, or plant emblem group). We may also distinguish
two kinds of residential group, the occupants of a *bende* or side and
616 of a *bande* or house. On the nature of the clan I shall be brief here,
reserving detailed documentation for my doctoral dissertation. It
614 seems to me mainly a political unit, held together by--in some but not
all cases--belief in common descent from a single patrilineal ancestor,
by the common name (*javo*) by which they call themselves and which they
call out when slaying an enemy or a pig or in other moments of great
stress, by the recognition of obligations towards and claims upon
others who bear the same clan name. Rimoldi (1966: 33) is right when
he calls the Orokaiva clan "only a social category."

The word *hae* means "plant emblem," but the word is also used
613 to denote collectively all persons sharing the same plant emblem.
The clan name (*javo wahai*) is transmitted only patrilineally, but the
transmission of the *hae* is more complex. A person regards his *hae*,
which may be any plant or part of a plant, or another natural substance,
as a part of his own identity. He may respect it in the manner of a
totem but such avoidances seem always to have been to some extent a
matter of personal choice. (Williams, 1930: 127-218) The hae is
used in a number of social contexts as a mark of identity. Williams
seemed to believe that a *hae* was the distinguishing mark of a clan,
but later investigators (Crocombe and Hogbin, Rimoldi) take it to be
the distinguishing mark of a lineage.

It is indeed true that when a man has a certain *hae* his children will also use it. The children will also, on occasion, use the *hae* of their mother, especially when they are on the land of their maternal kinsfolk. There are other, more idiosyncratic forms of inheritance: one man uses the *hae* of a hereditary friend when he is on the land which passed into the possession of his family through that friend. Normally, maternal *hae* are not inherited further; no person uses the hae of his mother's mother, or of his father's mother. In these circumstances it is reasonable to assume that a man who has the same *hae* as oneself is of the same blood. This is not to be understood

613 in terms of a rigorous genealogical model, which is unfamiliar to
Orokaiva, but in the sense that both are identified with the same
plant or substance and thus very closely akin.

While clan affiliation is, in practise, determined by political
[614] considerations, and a person may decide, upon calculations of family
advantage, to assume a new clan name, the hae is utterly unpolitical and hae affiliation is a better indication of true blood relationship than membership of the same clan. In the hae, but not the clan, a kind of hierarchical classificatory principle may be found. To explain this, I should first point out that most informants I interviewed had at least four hae, two paternal and two maternal ones, and not infrequently I recorded as many as three paternal hae, and a total of five. Many people, when using a hae as a mark of identity, for instance on the road, to show they had been there, would actually use two hae plants. For instance, almost everyone in the district used the hae called sasaha (a grass), but if another hae, tandere, was added, a person finding these signs would be able to identify the owner as one of a quite limited group of people. For the purpose of this discussion, I shall use the word hae as meaning such a combination of emblems which sufficiently define identity. Such a combination of hae never defines an individual or even an extended family as usually several extended families share the same combination. But the patrilineal units thus defined are always smaller than a clan. To this extent, earlier authors are thus justified in calling them "lineages." It would be wrong to suppose, however, that the same combination of hae cannot be shared by fellow villagers belonging to different clans, for this is often found. Thus, those translating the word hae as "lineage" should be careful to avoid the implication that such "lineages" are segments of clans.

The population of Sivepe is very hard to classify into hae
because I noted 42 hae in use, only 11 of which were shared by at
least four adults. Nonetheless, the fact that two persons share a
hae is often a valuable clue pointing to a close relationship that
is of considerable social significance, but that might otherwise be
[621] ignored as idiosyncratic. By far the closest bond that can exist
between the members of different extended families is that they share
[582] both a clan name and common hae. When such a bond exists, rules of
exogamy are stringently enforced. These rules also apply, but less
stringently, if two persons share the same clan name, but no hae, or
if they share a hae but no clan name.

For our present purpose, it will be most convenient if we
614 classify Sivepe households according to the clanname of that person in
621 the household who is what Fischer (1958) has called the "sponsor,"
i.e., the person by whose presence in the household the residence of
the family in Sivepe can be explained. On that basis, 13 households
and the bachelors' house may be classified as Jegase, eight households
as Seho and six as Sorovi, as in the first half of 1967. It is
desirable, however, to observe how rapidly this pattern of clan

614 affiliations has changed. In 1962, when Rimoldi did his survey of the
621 community, not a single Sorovi family had arrived. Moreover, he
showed four residences and one bachelor's house as attached to the
Timumu clan, a clan name that was not quoted to me. The same families
still inhabit Sivepe (except for one old man who died) but they now
call themselves Jegase. (This fusion between Jegase and Timumu
occurred, to my knowledge, only between the Sivepe local clan groups.)
In 1962, Jegase had eight residences and one bachelor's house, so that
the overall pattern in these four years has remained much the same
except for the fusion of the clans. Bachelors of the enlarged Jegase
clan shared one bachelors' house in 1967, seeing that the clans had
[731] been joined. The major change between the time of the eruption and
1962 was the migration of three families from Binduta to Sivepe, all
classified as Jegase in 1962. Just as it was possible to change the
clan name of the entire Timumu group by a simple decision of the two
local clan groups, so also it was possible to change the clan name
of individuals simply as a way of emphasising common loyalties which
developed out of a combination of cognatic links and contingent
circumstances. (This pattern is characteristic of New Guinea patrilineal
clans in many areas and has been discussed recently in an
excellent paper by J. A. Barnes, 1967.)

One striking characteristic of the village layout of New Sivepe
361 is that all the Seho houses are grouped together on the same bende
614 while the other bende of the main village is entirely made up of
Jegase houses. Sorovi, the clan which migrated to Sivepe from Garombi
616 shortly before my arrival, has mainly settled along the brow of the
hill behind the village, probably partly because that area happens to
be owned by a Sorovi man (who continued to live in Garombi), so that
in case of a quarrel, nobody could question their right to build on
that land. The other houses on the brow of the hill were built by
Jegase people who preferred to keep out of the regular two-line
system. People often talked about their intention to build all the
houses along the two regular lines eventually.

The basic structural feature of New Sivepe was this dualism,
expressed in the division between two "sides" each comprising one clan.
This kind of village plan has been studied in much detail by Lévi-Strauss
[582] under the term "diametric structure" (1958: 150). An essential part
of this structure is that each side is exogamous but that the two
[601] sides intermarry with one another. It is thus in Sivepe where people
living along the same side address each other always by consanguineal
kin terms whereas people living on the opposite side tend to be addressed
by affinal terms, with the obvious exceptions. The reserve and
formality observed when people cross the araha to go to the other side
is easily explained when it is remembered that on the other side they
will meet affines.

It will be noted that this pattern is very much less clearly
discernible in Old Sivepe where the two-clan system was not yet worked
out. On the other hand, I have found it in several other resettlement

361 villages (Garombi, Soroputa, Hohorita). When New Sivepe was built it
had become a familiar procedure and was simply copied from other villages.
614 It is an interesting adaptive institution, and the Orokaiva answer to
616 Australian pressure towards the building of multi-clan villages.

Belshaw clearly stated the problem that was involved: "How far
[177] was the earlier hamlet system the result of tendencies towards
violence and strife in the society, and to what extent will such
tendencies be overcome or intensified by the new arrangements?"
(1951: 246) It can now be seen that diametric structure was the Orokaiva answer to this danger of violence and strife. While affines were separated by the araha, the araha was widened so it could be used as a playing field, as happened at Sivepe but by no means in all the villages.

614 Rimoldi classified the Jegase clan into four lineages (Berekipa,
613 Sesewopa, Arehu, Bebehupa) and one extinct lineage (Hambai). He
further distinguished two Timumu lineages (Hajejopa, Pekuma), which should now be added to the Jegase list. Certainly, each of these six groups have common plant emblems not shared by the others; the lineages are therefore each part of a distinctive plant emblem group. Families of the same plant emblem group make no particular efforts to reside close together; the social functions of "lineage" are mutual assistance and close solidarity. The importance of the concept of "lineage" varies from clan to clan; while Jegase has this relatively long list of lineage names, Seho has no such list. Conversely, while Jegase has no common ancestor upon which all members of the clan are agreed, Seho has a human eponymous ancestor about whom a myth is told. Seho also has a totem animal (Garo = wallaby) while Jegase is actually the name of the totem animal recognised by all its members. It is a small flying insect present in great numbers around the taro leaves. It is possible, however, to classify Seho according to groups which share plant emblems and investigation shows that both clans equally are the result of fairly recent fusions; the lineages or plant emblem groups, however, are of somewhat greater antiquity. I saw evidence of the creation of new plant emblems and of the dying off of old plant emblems, so that even the plant emblems do not survive indefinitely. But Orokaiva rightly regard the plant emblem as sign of a relationship of greater antiquity, for clan allegiance can be changed in a day whereas the plant emblem group can always be traced back beyond human memory, i.e., beyond 50 years or so.

Inonda, in the same period, has developed in the direction of
621 a one-clan village. In 1951, out of 12 households, eight were of the
614 Andiriha clan and three of Jego'undi. In 1966, the wife in this
remaining household had died and the widower, with his four children, moved into an Andiriha household. As in Sivepe, many of the people now calling themselves Andiriha were not born with that clan name, but took it after settling in Inonda. Crocombe and Hogbin divided the Andiriha local clan group of Inonda into four "lineages," for which they quoted, in each case, a single plant emblem (1963: 17). They

621 also reported that there is one plant emblem which all Inonda members
614 of the Andiriha clan have in common, a feature not found in Sivepe.

In discussing household composition patterns, I shall simplify
the picture somewhat, as for the purpose of this study it is irrelevant
592 whether children are natural or adopted, legitimate or not, children
of both parents or one and whether clan membership is "primary" or
"permissive." All these questions would be highly relevant, of course,
if we were dealing with a village such as Hohorita, where many people
died during the eruption so that many remarriages and adoptions can
[114] be traced to that cause. One of the strange gaps in Williams'
ethnography is that he omits any reference as to household composition;
in his notebooks, he records household composition for two villages,
Burugata and Wasida, showing that in every case in those villages, a
household was made up by a husband, wife and children. In one case of
a polygamous family, the man had two houses, one for the family of one
of his wives and one for the families of the other two.

Informants told me of one rule regarding household composition
592 which is likely to be quite ancient. This is that a man and his wife
606 may not quarrel in the presence of the husband's father (and, needless
to say, in the presence of the wife's father). For this reason, the
people of Sivepe certainly do not like three-generation households when
the middle generation is represented by a married couple. It is normal
for a married woman to stay with her parents or her husband's parents
while her own husband is away working forwages--as is frequent among
younger couples. In that case, the household will have three generations,
but the middle generation is represented by a woman only, with the
husband only an infrequent guest. When I came to Sivepe, and the
village was still only half-built, I found three households in which
the middle generation was represented by a husband and wife plus,
sometimes, a few others. In all these three cases, a change had
occurred before I left: the husband and wife had built themselves one
house, leaving another for the old people and perhaps some other adults,
not including couples. This rule seems to be regarded as less important
in Inonda. (See Table 15.)[A]

592 My own impression is that the normal household is composed of
a nuclear family, as appears from the Sivepe (but not the Inonda)
[594] statistics. Widowers and sometimes also widows live in houses by
themselves, even if they have no young children living with them and
[589] do not like staying with their children after they are married. A
widower usually has his meals cooked for him by a daughter or other
close relative who brings the food to this house. Though occasionally,
two married brothers (or other close relatives) live in the same
house, this is likely to be a temporary arrangement. I do not think
that useful sociological conclusions can be drawn from comparison
between Inonda and Sivepe in respect of household compositions, as
there are in Inonda only two households of the type I have shown to be
highly untypical and these may well be accounted for by idiosyncratic
circumstances.

[A] [See Cat. 116, p. 220--Analyst]

462 women can carry produce to market. Coffee, however, is in a different
[562] category because the bags are of a special type, supplied by the coffee
[422] factory and a specifically male property.

Section 3: Education, Occupational Skills, Money Income

241 In the last section, dealing with the division of labour, I
did not introduce the question whether there were differences in this
613 respect between the various social groups--lineages and clans. The
614 main differentiation noted by earlier authors was that between cash-croppers and those engaging only in subsistence gardening. Now in this
respect there was no noticeable difference between clans in Sivepe:
out of 1,100 coffee trees growing in Sivepe in 1962, 503 belonged to
Jegase and Timumu and the rest to Seho, while in Inonda the coffee
growers belonged to two Andiriha lineages. In Sivepe today most men
grow coffee, and this applies equally to the Jegase, Seho and Sorovi
clans; the exceptions are elderly people. There are, however, very
significant differences in other respects between socio-economic
patterns in the Jegase and Seho clans--differences which are obvious
even on very superficial inquiry.

614 A minor imbalance in the age distribution of the two clans is
noticed at once from the statistics: the Jegase householders are
561 predominantly in the 35-45 year age group whereas Seho is predominantly
a little older (45-55 years). Hence the dance group formed in Sivepe
[535] is at present almost wholly composed of men of the Jegase clan. The
[177] age difference happens to be very significant in various indices of
acculturation, as the first school was established at Sasembata in
[871] 1945, and the custom of looking for wage labour outside the district
did not become widespread until about the same time. While some Jegase
[167] people know some English, none of the Seho people over 35 speak any
at all. Furthermore, the first village constable and the first councillor
[191] in Sivepe were both Jegase men who had taken up employment well before
the second world war. During the years they held these posts (1939-1965), Seho had much less contact with government.

The statistics (Table 20)A show that Jegase male adults have
614 slightly more school education than Seho adults but a great deal more
463 occupational experience. This experience, for both clans, did not
include work requiring much formal training; it was labour on rubber
and cocoa plantations, on the roads, assistance with land surveys,
[177] laundry work, service as a "houseboy," and in the A.P.C. Nonetheless,
an intelligent man thrown into these kinds of situation can find out
a good deal about the outside world; in later dealings with external
agencies, he is able to make more informed judgments. A further
opportunity for such experience was offered the Jegase clan when the
Australian National University, which made Sivepe into a sample village
for several studies (see below, Chapter VII), decided to concentrate

A [See Cat. 116, p. 227--Analyst]

614 its efforts upon what were then the Jegase and Timumu clans, to the
463 exclusion of Seho. When my wife and I came to Sivepe, Jegase at once
claimed us, built our house for us and was ready to perpetuate the
177 familiar "special relationship" before I had a chance to assess the
123 situation.

In terms of economic development, this extra experience of
Jegase did not actually make much difference. Seho grew just as much
614 coffee; the Seho clan leader was always in the vanguard for innovations
177 such as the Malayan rubber trees; Seho had about as much money income
as Jegase, except that Jegase received more cheques from town workers
184 married to locally resident women. It must be remembered that the
educational background of the Jegase men was still rather limited and
insufficient to open up the more remunerative avenues of employment.
The younger generation of Seho was just as well educated as the younger
generation of Jegase; in fact, the only person to have reached Form II
was a Seho boy whose father had no schooling but a few years' work
experience before marriage.

Finally, the leader of the Seho clan (without schooling, but
614 with brief experience in the A.P.C. before the eruption) made up in
157 shrewdness what he lacked in facility. Europeans who had dealings
with Sivepe over land and other issues found him atough and calculating
negotiator who knew as well as anyone how to safeguard the interests
of his village and press for whatever blessings of the modern age might
become available. As "committee" for Sivepe, he was a stern champion
of village decorum. I have seen several other villages which vowed
to eliminate pigs, but in these villages one could usually still find
a very tiny piglet, so small you could hardly see it, which signified
the hardiness of the old dispensation; in Sivepe, one only saw dead
pigs. He would have no weeds, no houses out of alignment, no late
noise; whatever the Australians chose to define as the spirit of
progress, was strictly enforced by this leader.

The younger people are mostly going as far as they can (up to
871 Standard 6) at Sasembata School; so far only one has gone further.
614 One young man, who had finished Standard 6 and a young woman who had
done Standard 4, but was intellectually brilliant were regarded in the
184 village as the educated élite; both were just above 20 years of age.
They were both from Jegase households; they both helped us considerably
as interpreters. It is likely that the Sasembata school produced
others as competent, but they would have left for jobs elsewhere.

I have already pointed out that in Inonda there was less homogeneity.
184 One man was markedly more educated than anyone in Sivepe; nearly all
had been away on paid employment for long periods (longer than at
Sivepe). The educated leader, attracting to himself other men with
some education, was able to act as a kind of entrepreneur and thus two
different patterns of life became established, emphasised by the
persisting neglect of cash-cropping by one section. Two young and
vigorous men who might well have grown coffee prefer to depend for
cash on temporary plantation jobs.

CHAPTER VI: Addition and Loss of Community Members

161 Though the population of Sivepe has increased between the years
1951 and 1967, this increase is less than might have been expected
after the settling in Sivepe of two additional Jegase families and
[166] six Sorovi households. An analysis of Table 16[A] will show that the net
population increase in 16 years corresponds very closely to the increase
due to the immigration of 15 Jegase and 26 Sorovi people into Sivepe.
The 1951 figures showed 40 children who, today, should range between
the ages of 17 to 35; 15 of these were boys. Looking at the present
Sivepe population, we find only six men of that age group and only
three of these were children in Sivepe in 1951 (the other three are
immigrants). This depletion of the 17-35 year age group is one of the
most strking features of the present population structure.

The second striking change is in the number of children--there
are almost twice as many of them in Sivepe today as there were in 1951.
[758] It seems likely that this increase should in part at least be due to
the improved health services: the monthly clinics, with the possibility
[165] of immediate referral of young children to the Saiho hospital, do save
167 a number of lives, even if the mortality rate is still high.

The migration of young women into and out of Sivepe is a
166 continuous process due to virilocal residence; a far more significant
[591] demographic process is the outflow of men as a result of labour migration.
[464] Rimoldi reported that ten male siblings and sons of householders of
his (Jegase-Timumu) sample were employed outside Sivepe in 1962; in
1966, I found that this figure had risen to 12. I have only included
men who had been residents of Sivepe and who had left, as adults, to
find work. By this criterion, it would not be possible to class
absent brothers and sons of Sorovi men as "labour migrants from
Sivepe," as these men had never lived in Sivepe at any time but had
[614] been residents of Garombi before they became labour migrants. There
were, at the time of the survey, no labour migrants of the Seho clan.
[177] The fact that Jegase had many labour migrants while Seho had not even
one certainly accentuated the relative dearth of contact with the
outside world that characterised Seho. On the other hand, we should
not read too much significance into it. It so happened that the Seho
men came from very small families; most of them actually had no adult
brothers living, and though they had many children, the only adult
children they had happened to be girls. Thus they collected a disproportionate amount of bridewealth but could not contribute much to the
external labour market. The Seho men were not actually as cut off
from the world as these statistics might suggest: all had sisters'
sons and sisters' husbands, real or classificatory, who were labour
migrants; two had themselves been labour migrants earlier in life. In

[A] [See Cat. 116, p. 225--Analyst]

521 of them made frequent visits to Popondetta and there met urbanised
Sangara. A group used to meet in the hotel for what were often
political discussions arising out of current events and rumours. This
emphasis on the political and ideological reminded me of what I had
seen among the Maori, the Indonesians and what is reflected in recent
African studies: the kinship universe is crosscut by other ideas
presupposing a political centre, centralised power, fundamental social
and economic changes. The presence of Papuan public servants made
[474] much difference here. For instance, nobody in Sivepe, discussing
savings accounts, would have thought of telling me that there are
54 cooperative societies in the district only four of which are
Savings and Loan Societies. This group knew the pulse of the Northern
District in concrete factual terms while Sivepe relied on disconnected
phenomena that happened to drift into their ken and from which their
suspicions and hopes shaped an image sustained by the stories of their
councillor.

Section 5: Internal Influences of the Eruption

361 Compared to the two sample villages, Hohorita is a more densely
concentrated settlement, with 348 inhabitants in 41 houses. When I
621 was there, there were still two clearly separated araha; the dominant
clans of the front village section were Horeopa and Oripa; in the back,
[161] Besupa and Sehopa. But within each section, there was no striking
separation of the clans into "sides" as in villages in the Sasembata
district. House distances were as at Sivepe.

● 614 In contrast to Sivepe, there is no tendency for clan groups to
fuse, 12 independent names being given to me. This number can be
621 somewhat reduced if we ignore those clan names represented by a single
family where the wife belongs to one of the major Hohorita clans--the
wife is then the "sponsor," in Fischer's sense, of the household.
Thus, two of the clan names given to me belonged to immigrants from
the Sasembata district who had married into Sangara. For all practical
purposes their allegiance lay with the clan of their wives. The other
clan names were all Sangara, representing survivors from numerous
pre-eruption villages.

592 In household composition, the smaller settlements of Sombou and
Kakita rather resembled Sivepe, but in Hohorita three-generation
households were more common and bachelor's houses were not found.
[597] Furthermore, many children were left parentless through the eruption
and these were adopted by Hohorita households, especially by childless
ones. As a result, childless households in Hohorita are far rarer
than in Sivepe. A considerable number of marriages and remarriages
[423] occurred immediately after the eruption. The sharp drop in population,
furthermore, left Sangara with plenty of land for the survivors, so
that 25-35 year age group is far better represented in Horotia than in
Sivepe.

423 dance in Sasembata. But they enjoy very much better conditions than
are usual for men who marry uxorilocally.
591 The mortality among the elderly at the time of the eruption was
582 so great that many traditional customs and myths were lost among the
Sangara with the elders who knew them. For instance, rituals carried
on at birth in Sivepe are no longer practised in Hohorita. For the
731 rest, I did not see many differences between the villages in level
165 of acculturation. Housing conditions in Sivepe were better; money
was more plentiful at Hohorita. Dances were far more carefully
practised and more expertly performed at Sivepe. Clearly, the Hohorita
177 people spent more time at their coffee; this was given as the reason
184 for neglect in other matters. It may well be that cash-cropping above
the level noted at Sivepe has necessary consequences of this sort
unless technological changes occur. Ideologically, Hohorita is--as
I demonstrated--more deeply involved with the concepts of the New
Day than Sivepe.

Though no groups have left Hohorita since it was founded, the
621 co-residence of these many clans does make for a certain instability.
The leaders of the Oripa clan group told me that just after the
614 eruption very few Oripa were left, but as the clan was becoming more
numerous, it was beginning to think to establishing its own village.
Besupa was harbouring similar thoughts. Both these clans were minority
clans in their part of the village and this inevitably implied some
subordination. In Sivepe, the fusion of Jegase and Timumu had established
a fairly equal balance with Seho, as both clan groups were about equal
in strength if the greater resources of Seho are taken into account.
In Hohorita, however, the supremacy of Horeopa (and Sehopa in the back
section of the village) could hardly be challenged. The councillor
and the government are opposed to such fission and overcapping organisations
such as the credit union, the women's club, the church, the
school, etc. may gradually set up a firm esprit de corps. The importance
of tree-crops (as opposed to shifting cultivation) in the Hohorita
economy might be a further disincentive to the migration of groups to
another village, but Oripa has in mind a new village site which would
actually be closer to their coffee gardens.

Section 6: Conclusion

In this study, we have found three complex forces, acting as
177 causes of changes, to be intertwined: forces acting throughout Papua
and New Guinea to promote socio-economic development, the effect of
the relocation of certain communities near Mount Lamington after the
eruption, and the physical and cognitive effects of the eruption itself.
The last-mentioned of these forces was far more disastrous for Sangara
731 than for the rest of the Northern District of Papua. In tracing the
causes of culture change in Hohorita, we have to give especial emphasis
177
[797]

241 of "dry" gardening, with fire and the digging stick as the
essential tools, and either long term rotation of previously
occupied areas or breaking in of new forest land. "The im-
mediate family . . . is a self sufficient unit" and "the Orokaiva
words for 'work' and 'garden' are one and the same." Con-
621 sistent with this mobile economic base, settlements are rarely
more than hamlet size, with "hardly more than a dozen
houses" on the average. Materials for housing are readily
available, so that residence can be easily shifted.

The hamlet is based normally on patrilocal-patrilineal prin-
ciples of organization, with a known strong tendency for
new groups to form by "hiving off." Clan affiliations are
[614] reckoned from quite recent ancestors, so that at times a
given clan may all be in one settlement, though more usually
scattered through several closely related settlements. The
592 generally monogamous family units are under the "immediate
621 authority of the father," while the affairs of the local living
units are under loose supervision by the hamlet and clan
622 elders, centered on a "men's house" and working together,
usually with one strong senior man as "leader." Personal
422 property consists of mobile goods such as tools and utensils,
clothing, and body ornaments.

In spite of ethnic similarities over a wide region, Williams
181 speaks of the Orokaiva as being a "more than usually quarrel-
some and disunited people"—a strong statement to make in
the New Guinea setting. Their pre-pacification history was
marked by "feuds, dispersals . . . a veritable whirlpool of
strife, migration, and counter-migration." Beaver, too, refers
to their "turbulent and restless life . . . migration was, in
[754] the main, a matter of attacking, fleeing, and pursuing." Super-
natural weapons in the form of sorcery were especially feared.
Even for Papuans, the Orokaiva proved to be unusually
[562] hostile and resistant to whites. Women were often seen ac-
companying the war parties, carrying food and weapons, and
(726) sometimes joining in fights. Williams goes on to say that
while the "elementary small sympathy-groups" (the local
[628] kin and settlement units, and to a lesser extent the dispersed
clan units) were tightly knit, their external relations were
(728) precarious. "There were peacemakings or truces, but the
truce was always a fragile one, and no (settlement) lived
in permanent security." "Hiving off" occurred sometimes
361 as the result of a "quarrel and the fear of retaliatory magic,";
241 but more often it was "simply the lax method of horticulture
which necessitates the clearing of many areas in succession
[578] and sometimes a temporary settlement on a distant site.".
Another factor could have been food scarcities which tend
361 to occur in exceptionally dry southeast winter seasons. During
261 this period, north and west Lamington area is in a rainshadow
zone, and people may have to scatter out to live on wild
roots and fruits. The implication of this is that even the
731 excision of the 4,000 persons from the Orokaiva group who
165 were killed involved no extensive shattering of valued ties.

361 Williams and others judge that with the modern pacifica-
tion, the Orokaiva have tended to disperse in even smaller
178 living units than before. This appears to apply particularly
(797) to the relatively densely populated Lamington slopes, though
a few instances of larger aggregations approaching a village
type also occurred, particularly as a result of Mission influ-
361 ence. Over against this greater dispersal, the people have
571

423 425 tary within the user's agnatic group. Although the use rights were, at first, mostly granted as an act of friendship, occupation may continue even when positive reciprocity is no longer well maintained between owner and user and the owner would like to find pretexts for recovering the land.

It is a clear rule that land reverts to the owner as part of his residual rights as soon as the user ceases to occupy it. Hence departure, even by individuals, at once raises a problem of maintaining control over use-right land. An individual does not leave his land for more than a few days without appointing some person to look after it. This person may be an agnatic or uterine kinsman or an affine whose wife is consanguine to owner or user. Men taking jobs outside the village regularly resort to the appointment of a caretaker for their land. This practice has not only ritual but also legal implications. The caretaker will fight other claims to the land, if only because he himself has become the occupier and the legal beneficiary of its products. If the original occupier stays away too long and his social position in the village is not strong, he may have trouble recovering his land from the caretaker upon his return. This is a risk arising in many cases of labor migration, uxorilocal marriage, adoption, or departures prompted by personal conflicts.

731 423 425 Interviews I conducted in 1966 and 1967 showed that the evacuees at Ilimo were extremely fearful for the safety of their land. The danger they feared most was the activating of residual rights by persons whose agnatic group had at one time been associated with their land.[11] Community relocation, by its very nature, leaves nobody behind to look after the land. It thus creates a legal vacuum that is ordinarily absent in migrations of individuals and small groups. Any individual who sneaked out of Ilimo and settled on a coveted piece of land to which he had some residual rights would be hard to dislodge under the conditions of Pax Australiana because the Australians, so far, have been able to maintain law and order without the benefit of land registration.

182 423 614 The fears about losing the land which explain much of the tension at Ilimo Camp are a direct consequence of conflicts implicit in Orokaiva social structure. The institution of land borrowing, the retention of residual rights over several generations, and the consequent multiplicity of rights and claims over land parcels are directly related to the small size of corporate groups and the

182 423 614 dependence on the exchange system for the creation of larger solidarity networks. In a culture where warfare was endemic, these larger networks were indispensable in order for the traditional land tenure system, with its emphasis on multiple rights, to be socially adaptive under precontact conditions.

178 423 The 'new age' ideology, as expounded in 1966–1967, does not ignore these basic conflicts but incorporates them in the notion that multiple ownership belongs to the 'past age' whereas sole tenure is the modern ideal. There is strong support today for administration moves to establish a system of sole titles and to abolish the institution of multiple rights. Cash cropping has emphasized the need for such a change. In practice most Orokaiva today plant cash crops on patrimony land rather than on land on which there are invocable claims of residual rights.[15]

The movement toward individual landholding did not start in the Northern District until the mid-1950s, when there was a government-inspired attempt to have landholding titles issued by the Higaturu Local Government Council (see Crocombe and Hogbin 1963). I am not aware of any organized attempt to reform the system of Orokaiva land titles at or before the time of the eruption of Mount Lamington. If such reform is being introduced into the 'new age' ideology today, this must be credited to indoctrination mediated through members of the local government council.

781 657 423 We have seen that, at Ilimo, the traditional land tenure system was the basic cause of a conflict which strongly affected the course of the administration's resettlement policy. The officer in charge of the camp perceived two main purposes: to keep the people safe from the volcano and to rehabilitate them afterward in villages which would have a more modern life-style. As we have seen, the Orokaiva accepted both these objectives as desirable and benevolent. On the other hand, there was a difference in the importance that Orokaiva and administration attached to an early return to the home villages. The administration might have preferred a longer period of evacuation for the sake of safety from the volcano and also for the sake of its program of community education. They met, however, with a restlessness which made them hasten the disbanding of the camp. The same restlessness induced the Orokaiva to agree quickly to some programs of resettlement, not because these programs appealed to them very much but because agreement would hasten their return to the land. European

562 through the close brother-sister links that endure after marriage and that are
expressed through strong links between sister's son and mother's brother.
● 614 Genealogies are brief, but the Orokaiva classify themselves into supposedly
agnatic units by grouping together persons who respect the same plant
[582] emblem which is treated as an ancestor. Clans are dispersed, and although
local clan groups continue relations after dispersal, they soon begin to
intermarry.

602 In the Orokaiva *philia* system, the distinction consanguine/non-consanguine
occurs, but only feebly. Far more important are three cross-cutting categories which may be briefly summarized as follows: 1) the cooperative alliance, centred on sibling and parental bonds; 2) the competitive group exchange system, centred on relations with affines and uterines; 3) the total interdependence relations existing between spouses and cross-cousins.

Previously (Schwimmer, 1970a; 1970b; 1972), I have shown that the Orokaiva kinship universe may be viewed as made up of these three main components. In particular, the symbolization of the conjugal bond does not coincide with either the cooperative or the competitive mode, but is expressed in the symbiosis of plants (such as coconut and areca) which exhibit both binary opposition and total interdependence relationships. The cross-cousin bond has the same components and, at least in ideology, a comparable strength.

121 In this essay, I shall present data on the friendship universe and show that
Orokaiva have institutionalized friendships of several types, some of which
572 are hereditary. I hope to show that each type of friendship corresponds to
602 one of the basic categories of the kin universe. Thus, if my argument is correct,
the same categories would hold for the entire *philia* universe of which
kinship and friendship would become homomorphous components. Friendship would not have one specific idiom, but a set of idioms which have already been stated in *philia* ideology and symbolized in the religio-philosophic system. Friendship thus becomes a dynamic dimension of kinship. Superficially, it looks like a minor supplement of the kinship system, but it is essential in filling ever-widening lacunae in the kinship system and preventing progressive 7
entropy.

Orokaiva Kin and Friendship Idioms

101 Between the districts where the data were collected, there are slight differences
in dialect (Hohorita in the Sangara district and Sivepe in the Sasembata
197 district), including the way kin and friendship terms are used. The Sangara
601 and Sasembata people are tribe-like groups, hereditary enemies, with seemingly
similar social organizations.

Provisionally, it is best to regard the Sangara and Sasembata nomen-
601 clatures as variants of the same system. I shall not deal here with intergenerational
terminology since it is mainly used in a familial context, whereas

572 less diffuse term than *apa/eambo*; *jao* (Sangara and Sasembata) designating a *namei* type of relationship between women, used commonly between unrelated married women living in the same village.

Friends as a Distinctive Set

601 572 The Orokaiva employ certain collective terms to designate the *philia* universe or distinctive parts of it. Thus, the term *mamahane* (father's people) designates the agnatic group, *epehane* (mother's brother's people) the maternal relatives, *aerihane* (wife's people) the affines, and *japehane* (literally, grandmother's people) the father's mother's group. There is, in addition, a term *nameikamei* which comprises the total *philia* universe including an undefined residue of non-kin as well as all the groups listed above. Although Sasembata do not use the term *namei* (friend), *nameikamei* is heard regularly. In neither locality was a collective term found which exclusively comprised the non-kin in the *philia* universe.

The term *nameikamei* certainly covered, apart from the kinsmen, the (Sangara) *namei* category and the *jao*, terms which are both regularly inherited bilaterally. I cannot say for certain whether the *otavo* and (fictive) *simbo* categories would be included in the *nameikamei* group. These terms may be employed in fairly casual relationships, but in time, persons calling one another *otavo* may decide to use a sibling term, thus making the relationship hereditary.

Statistically, non-kin make up only a small part of the *philia* universe. A man might be able to list several dozen *nameikamei* in villages more than three miles from his home, and non-kin would make up only 20 to 25 percent of such a list. (It should be noted that my statistics are somewhat cursory, as I could never be sure that any informant's list was complete.) Visits from non-kin tend to be made at greater intervals than visits from kin and they last a shorter time. One could safely say that non-kin are, on the whole, on the periphery of the *philia* network, as is the case among the Tangu.

An interesting difference between the two systems is that the hereditary relationship which is between fictive brothers-in-law among the Tangu, is between brothers (*apa/eambo*) among the (Sasembata) Orokaiva. It would be considered not only chilly but frightening for an Orokaiva to call his guest friend *dambo* – affine avoidance being stronger than among the Tangu.

Orokaiva Cooperative Alliances and Reciprocating Partnerships

571 [621] [614] Cooperative alliances tend to vary in size according to the purpose of the alliance. In pre-contact times, the village was a cooperative alliance in warfare and in large feasts, comprising between six to twelve households. For bridewealth and death payments, the alliance comprises the plant emblem group (Williams, 1925; 1930; Schwimmer, 1970a), the nucleus of which approximates a four-generation lineage, although it also has other members.

quent indeed, while spending relatively less time with the rest. 824
Inevitably a gradation of associations thus develops. This grada- 431
tion of associations, among the Orokaiva, is expressed by the
ritual statement of taro gifts, made with varying frequency. We 571
thus find that the first (i.e., most frequent) partner is involved 621
in an average of 38% of all taro transactions, the second partner
in 24%, the third partner in 12%. The first and second partners
are in a clearly privileged position.

A second way of describing the pattern of intimacy would be to assume that there is some community norm whereby a certain degree of intimacy is expressed by a specific frequency of gifts. My impression, supported by the statistical facts and some generalizations offered by informants, is that each household has a few preferential partners to whom they give or from whom they receive taro at least twice a week, but often far more frequently. In this sense every household in my sample has at least two preferential partnerships. Nine out of twenty-two had a third, two had a fourth, while the leader of the Seho clan had five.

Topographically it is a general rule that neighboring house-
holds form preferential partnerships. As the two clans live in [616]
rows on opposite sides of the village, linkages across the village [614]
square (*araha*) were thus comparatively sparser than linkages
on each side, though some interclan linkages were effected
through the households living along the short ends of the quad-
rangle, these being only weakly linked to either clan but, in a
social sense, intermediate between the two.

Two types of hierarchical ordering should be distinguished 824
in this model. The first is the ordering within each clan, where 571
some people are intimate with the sociometric star whereas
others are connected with him through being intimate with an 431
intimate. The second type of ordering is close to what graph
theorists call a Hamilton circuit (Harari and Ross, 1954; Fla-
ment, 1968) and would be consistent with an almost total ab-
sence of stratification. For the purpose of a particular transac-
tion with someone outside or inside the village, one often needs
the cooperation of a person with whom one is not intimate. This
fact is expressed in the model by the size of the total circle and